

The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1905.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE Association held its annual general meeting on Friday and Saturday, Jan. 6 and 7, under the hospitable roof of University College, London, and may be congratulated on a successful gathering, in which about 200 took part.

Since its inaugural meeting in the same place, just over twelve months before, reported in the *Classical Review* in February of last year, it has more than doubled its numbers, which now exceed 900. The financial statement presented by Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Mackail's successor as honorary treasurer, disclosed a fair measure of material prosperity, though it must be owned that the funds which can be provided by annual subscriptions of five shillings are none too ample for the work which such an Association might and should perform.

The two chief features of the meeting were its prevailingly educational character, which, perhaps, suggested the kindly reference which Canon Bell made to it in his speech at the dinner of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters as a 'kindred association,' and the extension of the policy which was adopted at the Oxford meeting of dealing with pressing questions by voting the appointment of Committees. Of these no less than three in addition to the one on Latin Orthography are to be constituted.

In accordance with the precedent of the Oxford meeting, the proceedings on the Friday evening meeting took the form of a social *réunion*. The members were received by the Principal of the College, Dr. T. Gregory Foster, and Professor Butcher as representing the Council of the Association. The Flaxman Gallery and

the fine College Library were open to the visitors, and in the latter were disposed some treasures from the Library and elsewhere. In the bays there were exhibits by the leading publishers of their recent Classical books. The pedagogic character to which we have adverted was not absent from the lectures which diversified the evening. Prof. P. Gardner in an interesting and practical address upon 'the use of lantern slides in classical teaching' (a subject to which, by the way, there were some disrespectful allusions on the following day), gave an account of recent improvements in this branch of lecture illustration, the most important of which was that a darkened room was no longer necessary. Among the pieces thrown upon the screen the most effective was a sheet of coins, which came out with great clearness and solidity. Mr. Gilbert Murray's discourse was on some points in teaching Greek Plays. He defended the psychological school of interpretation against the strictly logical one, and dwelt upon the necessity of always keeping in view the spoken character of ancient drama. In conclusion he proposed a novel explanation of Euripides *Med.* 213 *sqq.* *Kοπίθαι γνώμες, έπηθον δόμων*, by which this speech of Medea might be brought into more intelligible relations with her violent outbursts in the previous scene. Both lectures had a seasoning of epigram which the audience did not fail to appreciate.

At the business meeting on the following day, over which Sir E. Maunde Thompson presided, the Earl of Halsbury, Lord Chancellor, was elected President for the year. And the Master of the Rolls, the

outgoing President—whose services to the Association were signalised in graceful language by Dr. Gow—Sir Archibald Geikie, and Sir Edward Poynter were added to the list of Vice-Presidents, and the President of Queens' College, Cambridge, Prof. E. A. Gardner, Miss J. E. Harrison, Sir A. F. Hort, and Mr. Mackail, were elected on the Council.

The centre of attraction in the proceedings was, of course, the Presidential address, which we print elsewhere. The acclamation which followed the motion of a vote of thanks by Sir E. M. Thompson, and the observations of the speakers in the brief discussion that ensued, to which Prof. Butcher, the Rev. J. B. Lee, and Mr. J. S. Redmayne contributed, showed the interest that it had awakened.

Earlier in the morning, the Association voted on the proposal 'that the Council be requested to nominate a representative committee to consider and report on the best method of introducing a uniform pronunciation of Latin into the Universities and Schools of the country, and that it be an instruction to this Committee to confer with the Committee to be appointed for a similar purpose by the Classical Association of Scotland. That the same Committee be empowered, if they deem it advisable, to consider what changes in the present pronunciation of Greek should be recommended for general adoption.' This was proposed by Prof. Butcher, who pointed out that the need of reform was no new question. The general principle had been affirmed by the Headmasters' Conference in 1871. No common action, however, had been taken. A few individuals and a very few schools had adopted the reformed pronunciation. The partial change had only accentuated the mischief. Neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge, nor within a single College, was any uniform system in vogue. Two discordant systems existed, and several inharmonious blends of the two. It was now a matter of urgent practical convenience that within these islands we should accept some standard pronunciation which should be approximately correct. But the change must be such as not to impose new and vexatious burdens on classical pupils. Hence we must distinguish in practice between the more and the less important. Three points seemed essential: (1) Quantity must never be neglected; a long syllable must always be pronounced long, not pronounced louder. The English accentual system often obscured quantity and ruined the reading of poetry.

(2) The quality of the vowels should be respected; that is, roughly speaking, they should be pronounced as in Italian. The learning of the Romance languages would thus be made all the easier. (3) The consonants c, g, and t should always be hard. The teacher while trying to attain the utmost accuracy himself, should not teach his pupils the subtleties of the subject, but insist only on a few fundamentals. The question of Greek offered one peculiar difficulty. The ancient Greek accent was a musical or pitch accent, not a stress accent. We could hardly hope to recapture the intonation. Still there was no difficulty in getting the sounds of the vowels and consonants correctly. Now that the interchange of teachers between England, Scotland, and Ireland was more frequent, the need of uniformity in the United Kingdom was one of increasing urgency. But the first condition of reform was that the Schools and the Universities should act in concert. The motion was seconded by Mr. F. M. Cornford, the Secretary of the Cambridge Classical Society, who gave the results of a recent poll of the members of that Society, which showed overwhelming majorities both for uniformity and reform. Dr. Sandys gave his own experience as Public Orator, and urged with numerous anecdotes the inconvenience of the present pronunciation. Dr. Rouse showed from actual experience that the introduction of a reformed pronunciation was a matter of no great difficulty. The only opposition to reform came from Mr. John Sargeant, whose defence of the old pronunciation in the *Journal of Education* some may remember: and he did not oppose the adoption of the resolution, which was finally carried with a single dissentient.

After it was disposed of, Mr. R. L. Leighton read a short paper on the educational utility of Latin. In contrast to Mr. Leighton's quiet dialectic and subtle analysis stood the more dashing treatment of Mr. Rice Holmes, the historian of the Indian Mutiny and the campaigns of Caesar, who pressed home the value of classics for science and mathematical students and candidates for the Army and the need for reform in the teaching here, with martial directness. The Rev. A. J. Church thought that more attention should be paid to the English of translations. Mr. F. J. Terry urged that beginners should be set down to Latin which dealt with incidents of a boy's life, and Prof. Conway emphasised the importance of bringing out early the difference between poetry and prose.

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In the afternoon meeting, presided over by Prof. Butcher, Prof. E. A. Gardner moved for a representative committee to consider by which methods those employed in classical teaching can be helped to keep in touch with the most recent results of discovery and investigation. Prof. Gardner's suggestions were mainly concerned with archaeology, but his motion had a general intention, and he had no difficulty in carrying it. The rest of the sitting was consumed in the consideration of two motions, which were subsequently merged in a third. Mr. Page proposed that there should be a committee to consider what part of the study of Greek and Latin is of lesser importance, in order that attention may be more concentrated on what is essential. In a speech of vigour and vehemence he tilted at the excessive pursuit of the more technical portions of classical studies, and suggested that to get time for at least some acquaintance with the best authors, accidence, syntax, and composition should be studied fully in Latin only, and, up to a certain stage, be almost wholly neglected in Greek, pushing on to actual reading. The Rev. W. C. Compton proposed a similar committee for the revision of school grammars so as to separate the indispensable from the more exceptional uses. He pleaded for rearrangement, and a grammar in which the two parts should appear on opposite pages. A number of speakers joined in the debate. The Provost of Oriel showed how grammars were lightened considerably by the omission of unattested forms. Dr. Postgate thought that verse-making, except as an aid to the appre-

ciation of metre, should be dropped by all who had not some poetical aptitude, and urged the need of a new school Latin dictionary. Mr. Winbolt attacked the problem from the point of view of the school time-table, suggesting finally that of an allotted total of 8 hours, translation should have 4, grammar 2, history and literature 2, and Latin prose 2. Mr. R. T. Elliott thought less grammar should be taught, and especially fewer irregular verbs, and that Attic should be worshipped less. Prof. Burrows did not think a new grammar very urgently required, and put in a plea for Greek prose and for original work by teachers, and a warning against apathy. Mr. A. S. Owen protested against the view that opposite every word in the grammar should be set an English translation, and deprecated excessive simplification. The Rev. H. A. Dalton feared that soundness in Greek might be sacrificed on Mr. Page's scheme. Miss Rogers had found that girls might begin Greek at a later age than boys. The Chairman thought that there was danger of a neglect of grammar being carried too far, and put in a word for the cultivation of Latin verse. Easier and more 'literary' extracts should be given for practice in translation. The following resolution was then adopted: That the Council be requested to nominate a representative Committee to consider in what respects the present school curriculum in Latin and Greek can be lightened and the means of instruction improved, the Committee to report to the Association at the earliest possible opportunity.

CLASSICAL STUDIES.

A Presidential Address to the Classical Association of England and Wales by the EARL OF HALSBURY, Lord Chancellor, on January 7, 1905.

In addressing my fellow-members of this Association from the Chair, which it is my pride to occupy to-day, I must disclaim any pretension to lecture or to assume the attitude of a Professor. I am simply for the moment in the Chair, and, like the person who occupies the Chair in another place, more appropriately silent than dogmatizing on the subjects that interest us all; I would rather put it that I am initiating a conversation and suggesting a topic or two than delivering a thesis. I observe my distin-

guished predecessor disclaimed on the part of this Society any pretension to improve the level of Scholarship in the University of Oxford. As the Master of the Rolls said, Oxford stood where it should stand — at the summit level of Classical attainment; but I am by no means sure that we should make the same protest when we are speaking of London as a great publishing centre. It would be both unjust and ungrateful not to recognize what the University by whose hospitality we are now

here has done. But London is too vast, too busy, too much absorbed in the daily pursuits of commercial life to be much influenced by any one University, however learned and assiduous: but that it would as a publishing centre be improved by such an influence can hardly admit of a doubt. The groves of Mars and the caves of Aeolus were the types of the Roman poet of the sort of literature which stunned and distracted the ordinary reader. I wonder what he would have said of the shilling dreadfuls which I think have blossomed forth into sixpenny, threepenny, and even penny novelettes, and which, though happily in prose, claim as works of imagination to be the multiform poems of our time. Classic culture and classic taste might render these compositions a little less noxious than they are at present, and I know not what better standard we can strive to emulate than that which this Association seeks to place before its members.

I did not have the privilege of hearing, but I have read with deep interest Mr. Mackail's address on the place of Greek and Latin in human life, and I note that he thinks 'there is much to be done in quickening the spirit and renewing the methods of Classical teaching.' There are few, if any of us, who would controvert that proposition; but we are immediately brought face to face with the question, How is that work to be done? We are agreed as to the object—we are not so clear about the means. It is an old remark that it is by mistakes we learn, and I venture to suggest that the main end will be best attained by familiarizing those whom we seek to influence with the objects of our study in such a manner as to awaken a human interest in them. When such an associated body as this is agreed in its object and when I look at the names which I see counted among its members I cannot doubt that some progress may be made in the direction which we all desire; but may I drop a hint as to the tone and temper of the discussion which such questions are likely to raise? Among many interesting things which I read in Mr. Mackail's essay there was a quotation from Lord Bowen which is, I think, most appropriate to the topic that I am endeavouring to treat with a very light hand. I mean that passage in which Lord Bowen referred to the sort of proprietary rights in Clasic studies which some scholars seem to claim, and the right apparently to warn off all others from approaching that sacred ground. Only the day

before yesterday I read a letter from one whose learning and experience entitle him to be heard, conceived in a spirit, I think, of somewhat exaggerated pessimism. I do not myself think that compulsory Greek has been rendered injurious and ridiculous, and I must be allowed to doubt, notwithstanding my respect for the learning of the writer, that there is any class (I speak not, of course, of individuals) 'who deliberately omit from the course of compulsory Greek all that constitutes Scholarship or could give to Exercises a humanizing quality. All information is excluded as to who the Greeks were, their history, influence, merits, and defects.'

Now, though I still timidly suggest exaggeration here, I do not mean to say that the jealous treatment of Greek Literature in the sense that none but the very best models shall be presented to a pupil's mind has not been too rigidly insisted on; and that there might not well be a more diffused and more free intercourse with Greek writers even if not the best specimens of Attic Greek. Few books are more amusing and more amusing to a boy than Herodotus, and assembled Greece loved him though he was provincial enough in manner and dialect. What would be said of an effort to teach a man a good English style if he was never allowed to read anything but Bolingbroke or Addison? I know it will be said that in teaching you must have regard to accurate Scholarship; and no one will undervalue accurate Scholarship; but the question is not what will be ultimately reached, but what in the order of events is the best way to attain to that accuracy. Children, if they were not allowed to speak except upon strict grammatical rules, would be a long time in learning to talk their own language; and I suppose it is the experience of most people in learning a foreign language that if they confine their reading to what would be called lessons for children their progress is slow. In truth what I have quoted before is true here—by mistakes we learn—and a wider study of the Greek of a thousand years and more, I think, would excite a more real interest and create a more numerous body of students who would read Greek writers not merely for an examination but for the enjoyment derived from the reading itself. It is astonishing sometimes when one speaks to those who have left their Classics behind them, to note how narrow has been the curriculum, how sparse and scanty has been the dip into a language which nevertheless has such abundant and copious sources of

interest. How many of such students have ever opened a book of Diodorus Siculus or Dion Cassius—or in the Greek of Plutarch, and even of Plutarch either in Greek or English anything but the *Lives* in Langhorne's translations, or read a single word of Athenaeus except such as are found quoted by Mr. Mitchell in some of his notes to some Plays of Aristophanes which he has edited? Now consider what a man does when he is learning French—we will say, with a real desire to read and enjoy it. He seizes every book he can get hold of and every newspaper. He makes many mistakes, he misunderstands and forgets; but if he perseveres he learns where he has been mistaken and his discovered blunder becomes a fixture in his memory. I know not how it may be now, but when I was in Oxford as an undergraduate a man might have a creditable degree and never read an oration of Demosthenes or any one of the oratores Attici. I hope I shall not make any of my hearers shudder when I even advocate the perusal of the Byzantine Historians and the Greek Fathers. One result of such studies is that the appetite grows by what it feeds on, and the general knowledge thus acquired sets at defiance the coach or the crammer or whatever he is to be called who sets himself to defeat the efforts of the examiner to test real knowledge. The Greek Romancers and Satirists—especially among the latter Lucian—form almost a literature of their own; but I am at present only concerned with the suggestion that it is not only Thucydides and the Dramatists who will give facility in and taste for reading Greek.

I have referred to Greek, but it is only because the cry against Greek has been the loudest and most insistent. The narrowness of the Latin curriculum is still what one learns from those who have ceased to take any interest in Latin Literature. Horace and Virgil—Virgil and Horace. How many have read or heard of the *Quæstiones Naturales* of Seneca? and how many but for the exertions of Mr. Rowe and Mr. Justice Ridley would have read Lucan's *Pharsalia*? I think Sir Walter Scott tells a story of a Jacobite who had effected his escape from captivity while under a charge of high treason, but was recaptured when he returned to get back a copy of *Livy* which it had been the delight of his life to read and which he had left behind. I fear there are not many now who would risk their life for a copy of *Livy*, and Sir Walter expresses his grief that his hero's

Classic tastes were not found a sufficient justification for high treason. I do not deny that what I have suggested might seem to make too little of the accurate scholarship which it has been the glory of the English Universities to attain to; but, as I have already said, it is only the order of events upon which I am insisting. Let a man learn to read Greek or Latin with facility and it will soon be with enjoyment, and if with enjoyment then with gradually advancing accuracy. All I say is, that if you wish for complete accuracy at first and teach the *nuances* of Greek Grammar before the pupil knows anything of the language, you run the risk of doing what I saw a gentleman, when discussing this subject, said had happened to himself—that he had hated Greek for the rest of his life; and after all we are not dealing with those who are to become Bentleys or Porsons, with a Professor Jebb or a Professor Butcher, but with people who, short of that standard of learning, may take a real and lively interest in Classic Literature and hand over the lamp to others in their turn.

One other topic which I would approach in the same spirit of suggestion rather than of dogmatic assertion; and I would like to make the suggestion by way of parallel. Every one recognizes that if you are reading a novel the connexion of the events that the narrator suggests and the gradual development of the story create and sustain the interest of the reader; but if you dislocate and disfigure the relation of the events to each other you deprive the narrative of its chief attraction. Let me take an illustration. Suppose you are teaching the boy to read Cicero's Second Philippic—that which Juvenal described as of divine fame: the interest of the events between the murder of Caesar and Cicero's own murder by Antony is what lends to that oration its deep and even thrilling interest, and without what I will call the context of that comparatively short interval, the life of Cicero—the intrigues of Antony; Cicero's First Philippic, a tentative and even timid remonstrance against Antony—Antony's ferocious attack—and then Cicero's Second Philippic, which sealed Cicero's doom—present a picture of political intrigue and of violent conflict which a boy would be dull indeed if, when presented to him in this form, he did not learn to read with avidity and interest. And as part of what I have called the context, Cicero's Letters edited by Mr. Albert Watson, formerly Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford,

would supply materials for developing the story. I give this only as an illustration—many more might be adduced; but I cannot forbear from adding that Mr. Watson's book and the latest account published, I think, only last year of the state of Rome between Caesar and Nero might be indeed an answer to the supposed decay of Scholar-

ship among us. But I have said enough in the way of hint and suggestion—I do not profess to do more—and I will only conclude with what Horace has said:

*Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*

LATIN ORTHOGRAPHY: AN APPEAL TO SCHOLARS.

THE present marked divergencies of spelling in dictionaries and texts create a needless and very real difficulty to learners of Latin at all the early stages, and the undersigned, having been appointed by the Classical Association of England and Wales a Committee for the purpose of considering the spelling and printing of Latin texts for school and college use, are anxious to have the co-operation of all Latin scholars who are interested in the subject.

Their task, so far as the spelling of Latin words is concerned falls into two sections: to set forth, so far as known, the correct or preferable spellings in cases where there has been doubt or dispute, and to recommend these, where advisable, for general adoption in school and college texts.

In the absence of systematic works upon Latin orthography of a recent date investigators have to fall back upon separate articles and notes upon particular points in classical journals and commentaries which from the nature of the case may be easily overlooked. In addition to these sources which the Committee desire to utilise to the fullest possible extent, they believe that there must be a good deal of unpublished information which its possessors would be glad to see made available for the general good and which they are accordingly invited kindly to communicate to the Committee.

The Committee have drawn up a list of particular words exclusive of proper names which will be dealt with hereafter, the classical spelling of which seems to them to be still insufficiently determined. This list, which is printed below, contains in general only such words as do not fall under some general division of Latin orthography, for instance the assimilation or non-assimilation of prefixes in composition. And the Committee would be very grateful to any scholar who will supply them with information respecting any of the words included therein.

This information may embrace anything that falls under the following heads: (1) the spelling of the word in *good* inscriptions belonging to the classical period, (2) the spelling in good manuscripts of classical authors who use the word, (3) references to periodicals, programmes, dissertations and commentaries where the spelling of the word is treated of.

In a matter of this kind it is necessary to fix upon some epoch as a starting point, and the Committee have selected as the most convenient one for this purpose the epoch of Quintilian, in so far as the spellings of that epoch can be ascertained.

They propose, at present, to exclude from consideration the spelling of all writers later than the second century A.D. or earlier than the first century B.C. Within these limits they propose to take account of all well attested variations.

Communications relating to the words in the list or to the general subject may be addressed to Professor J. P. POSTGATE, 54 Bateman Street, Cambridge.

FIRST LIST OF LATIN WORDS OF DOUBTFUL ORTHOGRAPHY.

From this list are omitted words, the classical spelling of which is admittedly fluctuating, and words in which an alternative, though current, spelling is known to be without good authority.

Words which may be found to have been improperly omitted will be added in a supplementary list.

absinthus	bracchium
absis	bybliopolis, bybliotheca
acnua	
baccar	caeremonia
balaena	caudex
ballista	caulis
	clipeus

coniunx	glutio, gluto, glutus	rames	smaragdus
corulus	gorytus	recipero	stellio, etc.
cottidie		religio	stillicidium
cottona	hama	robigo	
crocodilus	hibrida		
crumina	hirnea	sanguinolentus	tesca
de-and dis-in compounds	interimo and perimo	sarracum	trochlea
ec-in compounds in clas-	ligurio	scena	uaco
tical times	magnopere and other com-	scida	ualetudo
euro	pounds of opere	scrupulum	ue-prefix
elleborus	miscellaneous	sepulcrum	uehemens
euhoe		setius	
exhedra			
fascia	penna and derivatives		(Signed)
ferumen	percontor		R. S. CONWAY.
filix	perirurus		A. E. HOUSMAN.
formidolosus	petorritum		W. H. D. ROUSE.
galbanatus, galbina	phaselus		J. P. POSTGATE.
	pistris, pristis		S. E. WINBOLT.
	promunturium		
	protenus, etc.		

January 13, 1905.

THE USE AND ORIGIN OF APOSTROPHE IN HOMER.

THE use of apostrophe as a feature of style in Homer does not seem to have met with much notice and, so far as I am aware, has received as yet no adequate explanation. Geddes (*Problem of the Homeric Poems*, p. 36, n. 14) gives a list of the passages where apostrophe occurs and notes that Melanippus is the only Trojan honoured by the poet's personal address. Mure (*Lit. of Greece*, ii. 61) classes the usage among the 'elegant expedients' used by the poet 'to give a dramatic turn to the text.' But the 'expedient,' whether 'elegant' or not, must have had an origin.

Apostrophe of a particular hero occurs in all 19 times in the *Iliad* and 15 times in the *Odyssey*: the latter instances are all in the case of Eumeus, the 'divine swineherd'; those in the *Iliad* are distributed as follows: Patroklos 8, Menelaos 7, Phoebus 2, Achilles 1, and Melanippus 1. Had the importance of the person or the poet's interest in him (v. the Scholia quoted below) been the determining factor, the proportions would have been different. A classification according to the nature of the context yields some interesting results.

A. Apostrophe of a particular hero is found

(a) At an important crisis (i) for the hero apostrophized.

Δ 127 (Menelaos is wounded) οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο.

II 104 (Menelaos proposes to answer Hektor's challenge) ἔνθα κέ τοι, Μ., φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή.

II 787 (Patroklos meets Apollo) ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή.

II 812 (Euphorbos attacks Patroklos) ὃς τοι πρώτος ἐφῆκε βέλος, Πατρόκλεες ἵπτεν [for II 843 see below (c)].

(ii) for some one else, N 603 (Peisandros attacks Menelaos, driven by fate) σοί, Μενέλαε, δαμῆναι ἐν αἰνῇ δηγοτῆτι:

P 702 οὐδὲ ἄρα σοί, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, ηθελε θυμὸς | τειρομένοις ἐτάροισιν ἀμνύμεν.

(b) At the conclusion of a simile.

Δ 146. ὃς δ' ὅπε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γννὴ φοίνικι μιῆγ (141) . . . τοῖοί τοι, Μειέλαε, μάνθητι αἴματι μηροί.

O 365 Phoebus fills the trench and destroys the wall ρῆμα μάλ', ὃς ὅπε τις ψύμαθον πᾶσι ἄγχι θαλάσσης κ.τ.λ. . . . ὃς μά συ, ἦτις Φοῖβε, πολὺν κάματον καὶ ὀλύν | σύγχεας Ἀργείων.

O 582 Antilochos rushes upon Melanippus κύνων ὃς, ὃς τ' ἐπὶ νεβρῷ | βληγένω ἀλέξη (579) ὃς ἐπί σοι, Μελάνιππε, θόρ' Ἀντίλοχος μενεχάρμης.

II 584 Patroklos rushes ἥρκι έουκος (582) ὃς ιθὺς Λυκίων, Πατρόκλεες ἵπποκέλευθε, | ἔσσονο.

II 754 Patroklos goes towards the body of Kebriones οἴμα λέοντος ἔχων (752)

. . . . ὡς ἐπὶ Κεβριόνῃ, Πατρόκλεες, ἀλσο μεραώς.

P 679 ὡς τ' αἰετός, ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν κ.τ.λ. (674) ὡς τότε σοι, Μενέλαε διοτρέφες, ὃστε φαενό | πάντοτε δινεόσθην.

Ψ 600 τοῖο δὲ θυμὸς | ίάνθη ὡς εἴ τε περὶ σταχύεσσιν ἔρωτ (598). . . . ὡς ἄρα σοι, Μενέλαε, μετὰ φρέσι θυμὸς ίάνθη.

(c) *In a formula of address* (some of these might also come under (a)).

Π 20 Achilles asks Patroklos why he weeps τὸν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφης, Πατρόκλεες ἵππεῦ.

Π 744 Patroklos has wounded Kebriones mortally τὸν δὲ ἐπικερπομένων προσέφης, Πατρ. ἵπ.

Π 843 Patroklos mortally wounded addresses Hektor τὸν δὲ δλιγοδρανένων προσέφης, Πατρ. ἵπ.

The formula τὸν δὲ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφης Εἴμαι συβῶτα, occurs with slight variations § 55, 165, 360, 442, 507: ο 325 (μέγ' ὁλθόσας): π 60, 135, 464: ρ 272, 311, 380, 512 (τών), 579 (τῷν) and χ 194 (ἐπικερπομένων): these are the only instances of this figure in the *Odyssey*.

(d) *The person addressed is asked for information.*

Π 692 ἔθιτα τίνα τρῶτον, τίνα δὲ ὕστατον ἔξενάριξας, | Πατρόκλεις, ὅτε δή σε θεοὶ θύνατονδέ κάλεσσαν;

(e) Two instances in Υ do not seem to come definitely under any of the above heads: 1, 2 ὡς οἱ μὲν παρὰ νησοὶ κορωνίοι θωρίσσοντο | ἀμφὶ σε, Ηγέλεο νέι, μάχης ἀκόρητον Ἀχαιοῖ, where a reference to the conclusion of Τ strongly favours the supposition that these lines did not originally stand immediately after Τ 424, and that, were the original context preserved, they would come under (b); cf. I 1, with the concluding lines of Θ, 555 ff.: and Υ 152 (the gods sit to watch the fight) ἀμφὶ σε, τῆς Φοῖβης, καὶ Ἀρη πτολίπορθον.

To these may be added, for the sake of comparison, two further divisions.

B. Under this head come the passages where no particular hero is apostrophized but a request for information or assistance is addressed (a) to the Muse or Muses A 1, 8, B 484 *sq.*, 761, Λ 218 *sq.*, Ξ 508, Η 112, etc., (b) to some person or persons not specified Ε 703, Θ 273, Α 299, etc.: with these compare A (d) *supra*.

C. The hearer is addressed: Γ 220, 392: Δ 223 ἐνθ' οὐκ ἀν βρίζοντα ιδος Ἀγαμέμ-

νοντα διον, 429 οὐδέ κε φαίης κ.τ.λ. (where a simile has preceded in 422-426, cf. A (d)): Ε 85 Τυδεῖδην δὲ οὐκ ἀν γνοίς ποτέροισι μετείη (cf. Ξ 58) Ο 697, Ρ 366, γ 124.

B and *C* are not intended to be exhaustive lists of these usages, as I am mainly concerned with the ἀποστροφὴ ἀπὸ προσώπου εἰς πρόσωπον of *A*.

So much for the *use* of apostrophe. Can we gain any information about its origin?

The instances cited under *B* and *C* do not seem to require any very special explanation. That an ἀοδός should address the Muses or his audience, whether the practice of doing so be early or late, is no more to be wondered at than that he should pray or recite. But that in a narrative poem dealing with a bygone age he should address one of the heroes of his lay as if he were present is not obviously natural, and the explanation of the use if it is to be found anywhere may be looked for from a close scrutiny of the earliest instances.

If we turn to the Scholia for information we are quickly disappointed. Schol. B Υ 2 enumerates the ἡρῷα πρόσωπα honoured with this form of address: in his note to Δ 127 the same scholiast distinguishes four kinds of apostrophe of which this is ἀπὸ προσώπου εἰς πρόσωπον. He says further προσπέπονθε δὲ Μενελάῳ ὁ ποιητής διὸ συνεχέστερον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται, ὡς Πατρόκλῳ καὶ Εύαιῳ. The Scholia to other passages (e.g. Δ 146, Η 787, Η 104) make a similar remark. But we find no attempt at an explanation of why this particular method of showing his 'sympathy' was adopted by the poet. Nor does the analysis we have given throw any light on the origin, however it may define the use, of the figure.

Let us now see how many of the instances under *A* may be assigned with probability to the earlier strata of the poems. We may at once dismiss the examples from the *Odyssey* and those from Δ, Η, Υ, and Ψ, the latter four books being by almost common consent regarded as later additions. There remain those from Ν, Ο, Η, and Ρ, containing thirteen out of the eighteen instances in the *Iliad*, Η by itself having eight.

With regard to Ν, Niese (*Homeriche Poesie* 94 f.) following Lachmann and Bergk regards the entire book as late: Robert (*Studien zur Ilias*, 108 ff.), while rejecting the book as a whole, rescues from the wreckage of his analysis some *disiecta membra* of the *Ur-Ilias*, among them the passage containing the line we are con-

cerned with, N 603, though it must be confessed that his reasons do not seem altogether convincing. The same two critics are agreed that O is substantially late, though there may be genuine old material in it (Robert *op. cit.* 135, 145 f., Niese *op. cit.* 99f.); but Robert does not include either of our passages in his reconstruction. II in its main lines must of course belong to the original poem, but of the lines we are concerned with Robert (*op. cit.* 77 ff. 93 ff.) allows only 20, 744, 754, 787, and 843 to stand, and regards the whole of the latter part of P including 679 and 702 as late. Niese (*op. cit.* 89) would get rid even of II 787. Applying these results to our list we find that Robert would allow six cases of apostrophe in all, in the *Ur-Ilias* and Niese, apparently, only four. Of Robert's six cases, one (N 603) refers to Menelaos and all the rest to Patroklos, while Niese's four are all concerned with Patroklos. This is a sufficiently curious result. Does it throw any light on the origin of the figure?

Patroklos is pre-eminent among the leading Greek heroes by his death. Menelaos and Agamemnon, Odysseus and Aias live for ever in the poem as immortal as the 'marble men and maidens' on the Grecian urn. Patroklos stands alone as the victim of the war. His unique position is the key to the unique phrasing of the poet.

To honour the dead by an *áλος ἐπιτύμβιος* was a practice familiar to all ages of the Greeks (*v. Aesch. Agam.* 1547). In historic times this took place before the body was borne out for burial (see the evidence in Rohde *Psyche* 1² 220 ff.), and the lament was probably repeated on the occasion of the periodic visits to the tomb. Whether the body was burned or buried, the spirit was supposed to hover in its vicinity till the last rites were performed, and must have been supposed to hear what was said about it. *De mortuis nil nisi bene* was the outcome of a very real apprehension.

That on such occasions the spirit could be directly addressed we do not need to rely on conjecture to prove. To take some Homeric instances: Briseis (T 287 ff.) and Achilles (419 ff., 179 ff.) in their laments over Patroklos address him by name, the former telling him plainly how much she had liked him. So in Ψ (725 ff. 748 ff., 762 ff.) the women address Hector by name, and again in X (431 ff. 477 ff.). Here we

have direct evidence of the practice of apostrophizing the dead; and when we consider the isolation in which the souls of the dead were supposed to live in Hades when their bodies were burned (*v. Rohde op. cit.* 30, Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 525), the actual speaking to a dead man becomes ridiculous except in connection with the burial ceremonies.

To the praises, then, of the one great Greek hero who meets his death in the poem the author consecrates the form of speech used in the ritual of the dead. On any theory of the original form of the *Iliad* the death of Patroklos belongs to its very kernel. Whether an old *áλος ἐπιτύμβιος* has been worked into the Achilleis, or the latter has arisen out of the former is a question we can perhaps no longer decide with certainty, but it is curious that this usage should be so imbedded in the very oldest stratum of the poem.

To return to our analysis of the use. We find specimens of *A(a)*, *A(b)*, and *A(c)* in this early *Πατρόκλεια*; and they do not seem to possess any feature in common beyond the fact that they are all used with reference to Patroklos. *A(b)*, seems on the whole to be the direction in which the usage was most expanded in the *Iliad*. Possibly the elevation of style and feeling implied by the simile suggested the use of the apostrophe, consecrated already to the expression of deep feeling, though the exact meaning of the usage was either forgotten or disregarded in the interests of the style: the same explanation would account also for its frequent use at moments of crisis as in *A(a)*. In the *Odyssey* it had already sunk to a mere figure of speech, though why it is always used in connection with Eumeus it is hard to see.

The Scholia then preserve some glimmering of truth about the meaning of the usage: it must have implied, in a way the Scholiast had little conception of, a very real 'sympathy' between the poet and his hero.

It may be objected that a *θρῆνος* of the kind supposed, would not naturally be composed in hexameters. I see that Prof. Smyth (*Greek Melic Poets*, p. cxxvi.) regards it as 'probable that the use of hexameters by Euripides in *Androm.* 103 ff. represents an archaic established usage that gradually gave way to the elegiac distich.'

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BELFAST, Nov. 5, 1904.

TWO LITERARY COMPLIMENTS.

DEPRECATING the common belief of ancient commentators that there was acute jealousy between Bacchylides and Pindar, Mr. Kenyon, in the *Introduction* to his *editio princeps* of Bacchylides, observes (p. xi) that the younger poet 'in the poem which appears to have been composed in direct rivalry with Pindar (Ode V), goes out of his way to introduce with praise the name of another Boeotian poet, Hesiod, in a manner which suggests the thought that he intended to pay a graceful compliment to his own contemporary.' While I agree perfectly with Mr. Kenyon's conclusion, I doubt whether it would be legitimate to build an argument solely on the laudatory reference to the muse of Hesiod. If it were Corinna, such a reference would be indeed significant; but Hesiod's position was Panhellenic, and I can hardly think that praise of Hesiod need have committed Bacchylides to approbation of Pindar. A more solid ground for revising our views of the relation between the two poets is to be found in another passage in the same ode (composed in honour of Hiero's Olympian victory in A.D. 476).

v. 31 τὸς νῦν καὶ ἑροὶ μυρία παντὰ κέλευθος
ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν
ὑμεῖν.

Here we have the words of Pindar in the Isthmian Ode for Melissus of Thebes

iii. 19 ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἔκατι μυρία παντὰ κέ-
(= iv. 1) λευθος,
ὤ Μέλισσος, εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφαντας
Ισθμίοις.
ὑμετέρας ἀρετὰς ὑμνῷ δώκειν.

The sentence is so characteristically Pindaric that few perhaps would hesitate between the three possible views that Bacchylides quoted from Pindar, that Pindar quoted from Bacchylides, or that both quoted independently and identically the words of an older poet. But the καὶ ἑροὶ of Bacchylides sets the relation beyond all doubt. He knew that Pindar also had been commissioned to compose a hymn for the same victory of Hiero,¹ and he gracefully alludes to this competition by a quotation from the rival poet. Since Bacchylides, then, was acquainted with the Third Isthmian, it must have been composed before summer A.D. 476,

¹ Mr. Kenyon, *ib.* p. xxx, points out that Pindar seems conscious of the competition (*Ol.* i. 111-116).

and the conjecture that the battle of Plataea is referred to in v. 34 is confirmed.² This literary tribute, paid by the younger to the elder poet, furnishes a real ground for entertaining Mr. Kenyon's suggestion that the reference to Hesiod in the same ode may have been intended also as a compliment.

Nearly four years later, Aeschylus produced the *Persae*. It is not too much to say that the artistic success of this drama depends on the device of placing the scene not in Greece but in Persia. Now this device was not due to Aeschylus. The same theme had been treated by Phrynicus in the *Phoenissae* a few years before, and it was from him that Aeschylus derived the brilliant idea of setting the scene of his drama far away from the scene of the actions which supplied its argument. Otherwise the treatment of the two poets was probably very different, though we read in the *Hypothesis* to the *Persae*: Γλαύκος, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αἰσχύλον μύθων, ἐκ τῶν Φαινούσων Φρυνίχον φησὶ τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι. But only one point of contact has been actually recorded. It was pointed out by Glaucon that the opening verse of the *Persae* (spoken by the chorus)

τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων
(Ἐλλάδ' ἐς αἷαν πιστὰ καλεῖται)

was suggested by the opening verse of the *Phoenissae* (spoken by a eunuch)

τάδ' ἔστι Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων.

The imitation is undeniable. But there is nothing interesting or striking in the line of Phrynicus. It cannot be said that Aeschylus was tempted by its beauty or felicity to echo or rehandle a phrase of the other poet. Why did he occupy himself with it at all? Why did he select for imitation a verse than which none other in the play of his contemporary can have been conceivably less interesting? This is a question which seems to demand an answer. The answer, I suggest, is that by the adoption of the first words of the tragedy of Phrynicus in the forefront of his own, altered to suit a different metre yet so as to leave the imitation evident and unmistakable, Aes-

² Blass, *Bacch.*, *ad loc.* (p. 49, ed. 2), quoting the Pindaric passage, observes: Pindari carmen huic Bacchylidis suppar tempore esse videtur.

chylus rendered to Phrynicus an acknowledgment of the great obligation which his own play owed to the *Phoenissae*. The

quotation was a compliment, the formal acknowledgment of a literary debt.

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THE SHORTER SELECTION OF EURIPIDES' PLAYS.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, in his *Analecta Euripidea*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 50 f.; 136 f., was the first to maintain that the shorter collection of Euripides' tragedies contained originally the following ten plays: *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Troades*, *Rhesus*, and *Bacchae*. For the twenty years previous, after the publication of Kirchhoff's edition, it had been held that the *Bacchae* stood outside this group. Again in the introduction to his *Herakles*, Berlin, 1889, i, pp. 207 ff., Wilamowitz repeats his former arguments with slight changes. His conclusions have been adopted by a number of scholars—e.g. by Bruhn in his third edition of Schoene's *Bacchae*, Berlin, 1891, p. 142; by Hayley, *Alcestis*, Boston, 1898, p. xxxiii; by Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*³, Munich, 1898, pp. 256, 275¹; and by Murray in his introduction to the Oxford text edition, i, 1902. Reflection on the matter, however, has brought me to believe that a re-examination of the evidence may not be without profit.

The considerations which led Wilamowitz to his position may be briefly stated. In the codex Laur. 32, 2 (L), which contains eighteen plays, the order is indicated by superscribed numerals as follows: *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, *Alcestis*, *Andromache*, *Rhesus*, *Bacchae*, *Helena*, *Electra*, *Hercules Furens*, *Heracleidae*, *Cyclops*, *Ion*, *Hiketides*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Iphigenia Aulidensis*. The first eight plays are the same as appear in the manuscripts of Kirchhoff's first class, of which Vatic. 909 is the best illustration; the last nine, with the exception of the *Cyclops*, show an arrangement according to the letters *ε* and *ι*, similar to that indicated in the fragmentary inscription discussed by Wilamowitz, *Anal. Eurip.*, pp. 137 ff. In L the numeral *θ* is written in an erasure over the *Bacchae*; this erasure Wilamowitz believes indicates that in the parent codex of the Laurentianus the *Bacchae* was numbered *ι*, since the *Troades* belongs between the *Rhesus* (*η*)

and the *Bacchae*, but that the copyist noticing that *ι* was incorrect here, substituted *θ*. This of course is mere conjecture. His reasons for classing the *Bacchae* with the preceding group of plays rather than with the following are, first that it does not fall into the alphabetical arrangement of the latter, and secondly, according to his view, *Anal. Eurip.* pp. 50 f., the *Bacchae* and *Troades* belong to the same line of manuscript tradition, which is, however, different from that of his twelfth century archetype *Φ*. His further claim that the *Bacchae* belongs to the class of annotated plays may be met at once with the answer that the eight glosses in L are insufficient to class it with the nine tragedies which have abundant scholia. Finally Wilamowitz adduces the fact that the compiler of the *Christus Patiens* in the eleventh or twelfth century drew from the *Bacchae* as well as from the *Hecuba*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*, and *Rhesus*. At first this might seem a strong point in his support, but a little consideration shows that there is nothing which compels us to assume that the centonist had any other than the larger collection of nineteen plays before him, from which he selected such as suited his purpose or inclination. Even if Wilamowitz's view that he had a delectus of ten plays were correct, the choice exercised by the compiler would still be an arbitrary one.² Of positive significance is the fact that the compiler also employed the *Agamemnon* as well as the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus; but this gives no warrant for a claim that the shorter selection of Aeschylus' tragedies contained four rather than three plays. The obvious conclusion in the case of both tragedians is the same.

Yet more convincing evidence than the

² Van Cleef's interesting suggestion (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, viii, pp. 363 ff.) that the author of the *Christus Patiens* employed a manuscript—inferior to those of Kirchhoff's second class—containing only these plays of Euripides, if accepted, does not necessarily make for Wilamowitz's contention. But if such a selection of plays as Van Cleef supposes existed in Byzantine times, it is surprising that none of all the extant manuscripts shows a trace of it.

¹ Christ is hardly consistent, as he seems elsewhere to hold, *i.e.* p. 839₄, that the shorter collection contained but nine plays.

insufficiency of Wilamowitz's arguments is ready at hand. If the shorter selection made during the Alexandrian period or in later antiquity comprised ten plays, it is hardly possible that some of the numerous extant manuscripts should not give sign of that fact, but, as every student of Euripides is aware, no codex contains the *Bacchae*

except L, P, and the copies of L; all others belong to a collection of nine plays, although among themselves they exhibit great variety of content, as is shown by the following table which contains all the important codices except L, P, and G, employed by Kirchhoff, Nauck, Prinz-Wecklein, and Murray.

	Vat. 909	Havn. 417	Marc. 471	Marc. 470	Marc. 468	Paris. 2713	Paris. 2712	Laur. 31.10	Laur. 31.15	Cod. rescrip. Hierosol.	Harl. 5743	Neap. H. F. 41	Frg. Ambros.	Cod. Flor. depard.
<i>Hec.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	c		h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Or.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	e		h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Phoen.</i>	B	C	A	N	F	a	E	c		h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Med.</i>	B	C		N	F	a	E	c	d	h				Flor. A
<i>Hipp.</i>	B	C	A	N		a	E	c	d	h		Neap.		Flor. A
<i>Ale.</i>	B	C		N		a	E	c	d	h	Harl.		Flor. A	Flor. A
<i>Andr.</i>	B	C	A	N		a	E	c	d	h		Neap.	Ambros.	Flor. A
<i>Tro.</i>	B	C		N							Harl.		Flor. A	Flor. A
<i>Rhes.</i>	B	C						c			Harl.		Ambros.	Flor. A

The content of the manuscripts therefore supports the view that the *Bacchae* does not belong to the shorter collection. Finally Suidas' notice of the Byzantine grammarian Eugenius—έγραψε κωλομετρίαν τῶν μελικῶν Αἰγαῖδου Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου ἀπὸ δραμάτων τέ—shows that at least as early as the time of Anastasius I (491–518) the briefer selections from the works of the three tragedians were already defined, for the most natural interpretation of Suidas' words is that the fifteen dramas were the *Prometheus*, *Septem*, and *Persae* of Aeschylus, the *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, and of Euripides the

nine tragedies fully transmitted in B and C.¹ With these considerations before us then, we may fairly ask for further proof before classing the *Bacchae* with the nine annotated plays.

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¹ So Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*³, p. 839. Wilamowitz oddly enough quotes this notice from Suidas in both his *Anal. Eurip.* p. 134 and his *Herakles* i. p. 137₁₂₉, but is unable to conjecture what these fifteen plays were: 'ob er von jedem 5 nahm oder wie er sonst verteilt, lässt sich nicht sagen.'

ON EURIPIDES MEDEA 714–15.

οὗτος ἔρως σοι πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος
715 γένοιτο παιδῶν, καῦτος ὄλβιος θάνοις.
εύρημα δὲ οὐκ οἰσθ' οἷον γῆρακας τόδε·
πανόσω δέ σ' οὗτ' ἄπαιδα καὶ παιδῶν γονὸς
σπέιρα σε θύρων τοιαδ' οἴδα φάρμακα.

L. Dindorf (*Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.*, 117, pp. 322 f.) wished to strike out vv. 714–15 as superfluous before the following three, and F. W. Schmidt (*Misc. Crit.* 1868) had desired to place them after v. 718. This latter suggestion has properly found no favour with the editors, for these verses do not form a climax after 716–18, but on the contrary express in general terms Medea's favouring prayer for Aegeus, while the

following lines give her definite promise that she will free him from his childless state. Furthermore, οὗτος can only refer to Medea's appeal to Aegeus in 709–13 for refuge in his land and home. The adverb means here, as frequently, 'if thou grantest my prayer'; to transpose the verses deprives it of all meaning.

Dindorf's proposal too has not found complete acceptance. Prinz bracketed the lines; Wecklein, after retaining the verses in his annotated edition, followed Prinz in his revision of the latter's text (1899); Verrall keeps them, but remarks that the passage would be smoother if they were removed; Murray also allows them to stand.

The recent discovery and publication (*Oxyr. Pap.* iii. p. 103) of a papyrus fragment of the third century containing vv. 710-15 carries back our manuscript tradition for the lines some nine centuries and gives us new reason for objecting to the text of Prinz-Wecklein. And indeed it is hard to see how the verses can be omitted without weakening the entire passage, for as it stands we have an effective climax—‘if thou grantest me asylum, then I pray that thy desire for offspring may be fulfilled, and that thou mayest live in happiness until thy

end. Aye, more than than this, I will end thy childlessness. The means I know.’ Omit the prayer in 714 f. and the words *εύρημα δ' οὐκ κ.τ.λ.* follow too abruptly on Medea’s appeal and her speech loses much of its force.

It is also interesting to note that the papyrus reads in v. 713 δόμοις ἐφέστιον with the manuscripts against Prinz-Wecklein’s δόμων ἐφέστιον.

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ON EURIPIDES *ALCESTIS* 16.

16 θνεσταν δέ μοι θεαὶ
Αδμητον ἄδην τὸν παρατίκ' ἐκφηγεῖν,
ἄλλον διαλλάξατα τοῖς κάτω νεκροῖς.
πάντας δ' ἐλέγχεις καὶ διεξελθὼν φίλους
πατέρα γεραιάν θ' ἡ σφ' ἔτικτε μητέρα,
οὐχ ηῆρε, πλὴν γυναικός, ὅστις ἥθελε
θανὼν πρὸ κείνου μηκέτ' εἰσορᾶν φάος.

W. Dindorf was the first to remove verse 16 from the text on the ground that πάντας φίλους of verse 15 cannot be restricted to three (or two) persons. Most modern editors have looked upon the line with suspicion. Earle rejects it altogether, and Nauck, Weil, Hayley, and Prinz-Wecklein bracket it. Yet the verse appears in all the manuscripts and was read by the scholiast as well; furthermore there is nothing in the diction or metre to arouse suspicion. But its only defender since Dindorf’s day is Dr. Verrall who, in his *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 27 ff., claims that according to the bargain none was admissible except the family of Admetus. As Dr. Verrall does not present the necessary proofs in support of his contention, it may not be amiss to examine the question anew.

At the outset it must be granted that the phrase πάντας φίλους διεξελθὼν seems an unusual expression to apply to a group of only three persons; but if it appear that in the play itself there is no suggestion that any other than father, mother, or wife could take Admetus’ place, we shall then have a strong reason for retaining the verse in question. There are four passages which bear on this point:

290-293 (Alcestis speaks)

καίτοι σ' ὁ φύσας χῆ τεκώντα προδόσαν,
καλῶς μὲν αὐτοῖς κατθανεῖν ἦκον βίον,
καλῶς δὲ σώσαι παιδα κεύλεως θανεῖν.

338 f. (Admetus speaks)

στυγῶν μὲν ἡ μ' ἔτικτεν, ἐχθαίρων δ' ἐμὸν
πατέρα λόγῳ γὰρ ἡσαν οὐκ ἔργῳ φίλοι.

466-470 (Chorus)

ματέρος οὐ θελούσας
πρὸ παιδὸς χθονὶ κρύψαι
δέμας οὐδὲ πατρὸς γεραῖον,
δὲν ἔτεκον δ', οὐκ ἔτλαν ῥίεσθαι,
σχετλίω, πολιῶ ἔχοντε χαίταν.

Again in the long wrangle between Admetus and his father (629-740) Admetus reproaches his father and mother for letting Alcestis die when they might have saved her. While it is hardly necessary to illustrate the use of φίλοι = ‘dear ones,’ ‘one’s own family,’ such passages as 339 above and 701 f., where Pheres replies to his son’s abuse, shows conclusively that the word is there employed in the restricted sense:

καὶ τὸν διεδίζεις φίλοις
τοῖς μὴ θέλοντι δρᾶν τάδ', αὐτὸς δὲν κακός;

and other places may be added to show that in this play φίλοι is usually limited to the three immediate relatives of Admetus, and that only one of them could take his place. This idea, reiterated in the tragedy itself, naturally found its way into the first hypothesis: καὶ δὴ “Αλκηστις ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀδμήτου ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτήν, οὐδετέρου τῶν γονέων
θελήσαντος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθανεῖν.” The

conception of Euripides therefore appears to have been that only one of these three¹ could take Admetus' place. This limitation, furthermore, seems not to have been an innovation by Euripides. In the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus the same restriction is found (1, 106 Wagner) ητόσατο παρὰ μοιῶν ἡνα, ὅταν Ἀδμητος μέλλη τελευτᾶν, ἀπολυθῆ τοῦ θανάτου ἀνέκουσίως τις ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν ἐλλαγει [πατήρ η μήτηρ η γυνή] ὡς δὲ ἡλθεν ἡ τοῦ θνήσκειν ἡμέρα, μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν θελόντων, "Αλκηστις ὑπεράπέθανε. This is repeated again in Hyginus (*Fab.* 51): et illud ab Apolline accepit, ut pro se alius voluntarie moreretur. *Pro quo*

¹ The children of Admetus were left out of account obviously from their youth.

cum neque pater neque mater mori voluisset, uxor se Alcestis obtulit et pro eo vicaria uorte interit.²

The received form of the myth, the antecedent conditions of the play, and the manuscript tradition then all make for the retention of v. 16. If we feel it to be bathetic, as Hayley claims it is, we are not therefore warranted in rejecting it, but must rather recognise frankly Euripides' artistic fault.

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² Hayley quotes in part both passages, but in each instance he stops short of the essential words: *μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν θελόντων*, and 'pro quo *cum neque pater neque mater mori voluisset*.'

SUGGESTIONS ON THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.

1. 1139 a 3 πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἐλέχθη δοῦ εἶναι μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, τό τε λόγον ἔχον καὶ τὸ ἀλογον τὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦ λόγου ἔχοντος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διαρρέον. Nothing is here said of the way in which the higher part of the ἀλογον can claim to be λόγον ἔχον. This is a strong but hitherto unnoticed argument in favour of this book's belonging to the Nicomachean treatise. For while the Nicomachean 1st book speaks of τὸ ὄρεκτικόν as ἀλογον in the first place (1102 b 13), and only afterwards allows it, and then with some reservation (οὐ κυρίως), some title to be called part of the λόγον ἔχον, the Eudemian 2nd book on the other hand refers to it from the first as λόγον ἔχον, with only a slight reservation in favour of the Nicomachean view (1219 b 28). The reference here made, πρότερον ἐλέχθη κτλ., is therefore much clearer to the Nicomachean passage: for here there is no suggestion that the ὄρεκτικόν could possibly be considered as anything but ἀλογον, which goes a little beyond even the Nicomachean passage, but is entirely inconsistent with the Eudemian. Observe that the reference here is in a form that shows it is not an interpolation as many references may be.

2. 1139 a 15 ληττέον ἄρ' ἔκατέρους τοιότων τίς η βελτίστη ἔξις, αὐτῇ γὰρ ἀρετῇ ἔκατέρους, η δ' ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκεῖον. This punctuation seems to hide the sense. I should place a full stop after ἀρετῇ ἔκατέρους. For η δ' ἀρετῇ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ οἰκεῖον has

nothing to do with what precedes, and a great deal to do with the whole of the following chapter, which is devoted to discovering the ἔργον of each of the two intellectual faculties with a view to discovering the ἀρετῇ of each thereby. This is quite clearly brought out by the conclusion 1139 b 12 ἀμφοτέρων δη τῶν γοργικῶν μορίων ἀλήθεια τὸ ἔργον. καθ' ἡς οὖν μάλιστα ἔξεις ἀληθεύεται ἔκατερον, αὐταὶ ἀρεταὶ ἀμφοῦ.

3. The following re-arrangement of the text of 1139 a 21-b 5 (the only important passage in the 6th book which at all seems to require re-arrangement) is I think new and has some advantages over others—(i.) (as at present) a 17 Τρία δή ἔστιν . . . a 20 πράξεως δὲ μὴ κουνωεῖν: (ii.) a 31 πράξεως μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴ προαίρεσις . . . a 35 ἀνεν διανοίας καὶ ἥθους οὖν ἔστιν: (iii.) b 4 διὸ η ὄρεκτικὸς νοῦς . . . b 5 καὶ η τοιάντη ἀρχῇ ἀνθρώπος: here would appropriately follow the foot-note b 6 οὐκ ἔστι δὲ προαίρετον οὐδὲν γεγονός . . . b 11 ἀγέντα ποιεῖν οὐσος' οὐδὲν η πετραγμένα: (iv.) a 21 ἔστι δ' ὅπερ ἐν διανοίᾳ κατάφασις καὶ ἀπόφασις . . . a 31 τῇ δρέξει τῇ δρθῇ: (v.) a 35 διάνοια δ' αὐτῇ οὐθὲν κινεῖ . . . b 4 η δ' ὄρεξις τούτου: (vi.) the last two lines, b 12-13, of course keep their place. The advantages of this arrangement are as follows: 1. All the passages dealing with προαίρεσις are brought together and arranged in their natural order. 2. The discussion of θεωρητικὴ διάνοια is properly separated from that of πρακτικὴ, which is

only mentioned again to make the nature of θεωρητική plainer by contrast, no new fact about πρακτική being mentioned. 3. a 35 seq. carries on the contrast smoothly from the end of the sentence a 30 τῇ ὄρεξι τῇ ὄρθῃ: and then, in the light of the now sufficient discussion of both πρακτική and θεωρητική, ποιητική is properly discussed and put in its place. 4. The transition from a 20 πράξεως δὲ μὴ κοινωνῶν to a 31 πράξεως μὲν οὐν ἀρχῆ προαιρέσις is clear and natural, while the present continuation at a 21 is highly obscure. 5. The meaning of ἀρχή, οὗτος ἡ κίνησις, is given earlier, and so close to a 18-20 that it serves to explain the use of ἀρχή there too. 6. It would be absurd, after the *assumption* of the truth ἡ προαιρέσις ὄρεξις βούλευτική in a 23, to write later on b 4 διὸ ἡ ὄρεξις νοῦς ἡ προαιρέσις ἡ ὄρεξις διανοητική, the statement being the grand conclusion of the whole argument: but on the other hand *from* the conclusion b 4 διὸ ἡ ὄρεξις νοῦς κτλ (a conclusion that follows naturally enough from a 31-35) the remark a 23 η δὲ προαιρέσις ὄρεξις βούλευτική follows quite well as a recapitulation of an already proved statement. With regard to such a re-arrangement as the above I would say what Professor Stewart says of his own re-arrangement of another passage in this book, 1140 b 3-30: it 'is offered, not as a reconstruction of the text as it may have originally stood, but as an attempt to make the meaning of the passage, as we now have it, clearer.'

4. 1139 a 23 δεῖ διὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὸν τε λόγον ἀληθῆ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὄρεξιν ὄρθην, εἴπερ ἡ προαιρέσις σπουδαία, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ τὸν μὲν φάναι τὴν δὲ διώκειν. No editor has pointed out, I think, that the above sentence expresses two different requirements, and not the same requirement in two different forms. Professor Stewart (see his note on 1139 a 24) says 'ὄρεξις is ὄρθη when it seeks (διώξεις) what λόγος or δάναος affirms (κατάφασις) to be good, and shuns (φυγή) what it denies (ἀπόφασις) to be good.' But the harmony of reason with appetite is not the same thing as the goodness of either. It is true of vicious προαιρέσις, where the λόγος is false and the ὄρεξις morally bad, that ὄρεξις seeks and shuns respectively what λόγος affirms and denies. What is wanted is not merely the harmony of reason and appetite—not merely that both should have the same object—but the harmony of right reason with good appetite, so that both are rightly active with regard to the same object. Now the rightness of reason depends on the truth of its affirmations and

negations, and not at all on the character of the appetite, and the goodness of appetite depends on the goodness of its pursuits and avoidances, and not at all on the character of the reason. For every προαιρέσις, good or bad, it is necessary that the reason and the appetite should be concerned with the same object: otherwise there is merely an opinion, right or wrong, about one thing, and a desire, right or wrong, about another, and no προαιρέσις can occur. For good προαιρέσις it is necessary that both reason and desire should be good in themselves, and if they are good, and refer to the same object, it must follow in the nature of things that both feel attraction (κατάφασις and ὄρεξις) or both repulsion (ἀπόφασις and φυγή). It has been shown that this harmony of attraction with attraction and repulsion with repulsion also exists in vicious προαιρέσις, where both reason and appetite are bad in themselves. Two other kinds of bad προαιρέσις, are possible, where this harmony does not exist: when the reason is bad and the appetite good, and when the reason is good and the appetite bad: then there exist the two states considered in the last two chapters of this book, the baneful development of natural moral virtue, which is nameless, and the baneful development of natural intellectual virtue, which is πανοργία. The two requirements stated in this passage are, then, (1) that reason and appetite should combine to form purpose by being directed to the same object, (2) that their relation to the object should be good in each case: and my point is that these two things required are causally independent of each other.

5. 1139 b 15 ἔστω δὴ οἰς ἀληθεύει ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ καταφάναι ἡ ἀποφάναι . . . τέχνη ἐπιστήμη φρόνησις σοφία νοῦς ὑπολήψει γάρ καὶ δόξῃ ἐνδέχεται διαιψεύδεσθαι.

Professor Stewart says 'Νοῦς is infallible as the immediate perception of ἀδιαιρέτα or ἀπλᾶ, implying that the perception of ἀδιαιρέτα or ἀπλᾶ, i.e. of simple concepts as distinguished from propositions, is the whole function of νοῦς. He is obliged to suppose therefore that the words τῷ καταφάναι ἡ ἀποφάναι are only loosely applied to νοῦς, since they imply the making of propositions, which νοῦς does not do. I can find no evidence that other editors disagree with this view.'

Now Professor Stewart admits that νοῦς here means what it means in chapter 6, where is said εἶναι τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. But deductive science cannot start from simple concepts: it must start from proposi-

tions. Chapter 6 therefore shows that *νοῦς* makes propositions. This does not prevent its also perceiving simple concepts, according to the doctrine of *Metaphysics* 1051 b 24: though it is probable that the author is not thinking of *νοῦς* in that sense anywhere in this book—which need cause no surprise, since, as it is, he uses the word in at least four different senses in this book. Professor Stewart himself admits that the doctrine that the principles of knowledge are reached by *νοῦς* is not inconsistent, in the author's view or in the view of the writer of *Posterior Analytics* 100 b 3 *seq.*, with the doctrine that the same principles are reached by induction (*ἐπαγωγὴ*). Clearly induction cannot be concerned entirely with *ἀδιαιρέτα*.

But in what sense then is *νοῦς* infallible? In just the sense in which the other four virtues are infallible and *ὑπόληψις* and *δόξα* fallible. It is a matter of names. In so far as a man is deceived, his *ἔξις* διανοητική is not truly any of the five virtues mentioned, but only in so far as he is right. *ὑπόληψις* and *δόξα* are fallible in the sense that they are either good or bad states—the names are not confined to virtues but may be applied to vices. They are not distinct from the five virtues as things mutually exclusive are distinct; for all five virtues are *ὑπόληψις* of a certain kind, see 1140 b 13 where *φρόντισις* is, it is implied, a *ὑπόληψις*, b 31 where *ἐπιστήμη* is called a *ὑπόληψις*, 1142 b 33 where *φρόντισις* is called a *ὑπόληψις*; and *δόξα* is at least a part of *φρόντισις*, which is twice called the virtue *τοῦ δοξιστικοῦ μέρους*. This infallibility then, which has caused the editors so much trouble, is a notion brought in, rather clumsily perhaps, to distinguish between the names of virtues and the names of states that may be good or bad.

6. 1140 a 20. *ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἔξις τις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική ἔστιν, η δὲ ἀτεχνία τούναντίον μετὰ λόγου ψεύδοντος ποιητική ἔξις*. In this book *τέχνη* is used in two senses, one good, the other in itself neither good nor bad. These two senses are conveyed by the phrases (a) *ἔξις μετὰ λόγου ποιητική* (b) *ἔξις μετὰ λόγου ἀληθοῦς ποιητική*. The former sense occurs in two other places in this book, where the above definition has been forgotten: 1140 b 22 *τέχνης μὲν ἔστιν ἀρετὴ φροντίσεως δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν*, and 1141 a 12 *σημαίνοντες τὴν σοφίαν οὐτὶ ἀρετὴ τέχνης ἔστιν*. In these two places *τέχνη* is perhaps not really thought of as a *ἔξις* at all, but as an activity or process or body of rules or something that is not a

quality or fixed condition of the mind of the *τεχνίτης*. If it is thought of as a *ἔξις*, the words *τέχνης ἔστιν ἀρετὴ* cannot mean that *τέχνη* can have an *ἀρετὴ* so much as that *τέχνη* can be an *ἀρετὴ*. In any case these two passages are inconsistent with the above definition of 1140 a 20, where *τέχνη* is clearly said to be a virtue, and has its vice *ἀτεχνία* opposed to it. *Τέχνη* in this sense can no more have an *ἀρετὴ* than *φρόντισις* can. It would have been an excellent thing if the word *εὐτεχνία*—which occurs in Hippocrates and Lucian but not in Aristotle—had been in common use enough to have displaced *τέχνη* here. How far the author clearly distinguished in his own mind his double use of *τέχνη* is doubtful; but as he does not generally mention intellectual vices, probably he had the neutral sense of *τέχνη* in his mind at 1140 a 20, and mentioned *ἀτεχνία* on purpose to show that it is not the neutral but the good sense that is there intended.

7. 1141 a 3 εἰ δὴ οὖς ἀληθεύομεν καὶ μηδέποτε διαφεύδομεθα . . . ἐπιστήμη καὶ φρόντισις ἔστι καὶ σοφία καὶ *νοῦς*, τούτων δὲ κτλ. Why is *τέχνη* left out of the list? Many reasons have been given: (a) we may have the list of another editor here (Stewart): (b) the omission may be a pure accident (Burnet): (c) *τέχνη* was shown in chapter 5 to be a *ἔξις ἡς ἔστι λόγη* (Stewart): (d) *τέχνη* is included in *φρόντισις*, both being *περὶ τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα ἀλλως ἔχειν* (Eustathius): (e) *τέχνη* may be included in *ἐπιστήμη* (Stewart): (f) *τέχνη* may be included in *σοφία*, which is the *ἀρετὴ τέχνης* (Burnet). Now Rausaue well says that Aristotle does not mind going without formal symmetry and precision so long as his meaning is plain. But the meaning is quite plain. *τέχνη* had its proper place in the argument at 1140 b 34 τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἐπιστητροῦ οὐτὶ ἀν ἐπιστήμην εἴη οὐτε *τέχνη* οὐτε *φρόντισις* κτλ. It is therefore probably left out of the formal list because there is no possibility of confusing the use of *τέχνη* with the use of *νοῦς*, whereas it is easy to see that *νοῦς* might, in certain connections, be used as a synonym of either *ἐπιστήμη* *φρόντισις* or *σοφία*. Another striking instance in this book of carelessness about the formal completeness of a list occurs at 1143 a 26 *λέγομεν γαρ γνώμην καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ φρόντισιν καὶ νοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφέροντες γνώμην ἔχειν καὶ νοῦν ἔδη καὶ φρονίμους καὶ συνετούς*. Here *εὐβούλια* is not excluded of set purpose. Professor Burnet thinks it is, on the ground that the four *ἔξις* mentioned here all apprehend their objects immediately, that

this is why they are *εἰς ταῦτὸ τείνονται*, and that therefore *εὐβούλια* is purposely excluded as being *μετὰ λόγου*. But (a) this if true would be a reason for excluding *φρόνησις* also, since *φρόνησις* is *ἔξις ἀληθῆς μετὰ λόγου πρακτική* (1140 b 5), and (b) the bearing of *εἰς ταῦτὸ τείνονται* is given quite clearly in line 28 *πᾶσι καὶ τὸν καθ' ἔκαστον*, which is of course also true of *εὐβούλια*. It is possible that *εὐβούλια* is left out because it is so closely connected with *φρόνησις* (since it is *δρόστης ἡ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον πρὸς τὸ τέλος, οὐ δὲ φρόνησις ἀληθῆς ὑπόληψις* ἔστιν 1142 b 32) that whatever applies to *φρόνησις* applies to it also. The list is twice repeated, each time less complete than before—1143 b 7 *γνώμην δὲ ἔχειν καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ νοῦν*, 1143 b 9 *νοῦν ἔχειν καὶ γνώμην*: so it may well have been incomplete to begin with. It is fair then to assume that neither *εὐβούλια* at 1143 a 26 nor *τέχνη* at 1141 a 5 is excluded of set purpose from the list, but might be put in without altering the doctrine of either passage.

8. 1141 b 29 *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ φρόνησις μάλιστ' εἶναι ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔνα*. The author's wish to fix the meaning of important terms is so plain that it is always desirable, though always hard, to determine how far he accepts popular usages. Here is a case in point. It is worth asking if the use of the words *πολιτική* and *φρόνησις* in the popular restricted senses is admitted. Does not Professor Burnet go too far in saying it is not? The author is surely ready to accept the popular usages because they are convenient and well known; but he hints in the case of *πολιτική* (see 1141 b 28 *λέγοντον*), and is at pains to show clearly in the case of *φρόνησις*, that these usages, however convenient now they have become established, sprang from mistaken ethical judgments. It is only at 1142 a 1 that this view of his about *φρόνησις* begins to come to light. By opposing *φρόνιμος* to the invidious word *πολυπράγμων* he shows that, in calling the egoist or the selfish man *φρόνιμος*, people commonly mean that such a person displays the highest sort of practical wisdom. From this view he expressly dissents 1142 a 9 *καίτοι ἵνας οὐδὲ ἔστι τὸ αὐτὸν εὖ ἀνενοίκιας οὐδὲ ἀνενοίκιας πολιτείας*: showing that he does not accept the popular ethical judgment as well as the popular usage of words. Though he accepts the use of *πολιτική* as meaning 'practical statesmanship,' he holds it the lower, and not like most people the higher, of the two kinds of *πολιτική* (in the general sense 'statesmanship'); and though he

accepts the use of *φρόνησις* as meaning 'practical prudence about one's immediate personal interests,' he holds it the lowest, and not like most people the highest, of the three kinds of *φρόνησις* (in the general sense 'practical wisdom'). This acceptance of the popular restricted usage is not inconsistent with his demanding acceptance, as he clearly does, for the new extended usage of his own that better agrees with ethical truth. Had there been any fairly well-established names to substitute for *πολιτική* and *φρόνησις* in the restricted senses, it is likely that they would have been used: since there were none, innovation in terms has been, as usual, avoided.

9. 1143 a 12 *ώσπερ τὸ μανθάνειν λέγεται συνιέναι, ὅταν χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, οὗτος ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τούτων περὶ ὃν ἡ φρόνησις ἔστιν, ἄλλον λέγοντος, καὶ κρίνειν καλῶς*. This passage has I believe been generally misunderstood. Ramsauer expands it as follows: *ώσπερ γάρ τὸ μανθάνειν λέγεται συνιέναι ὅταν χρῆται τις τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ ὃν ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἔστιν ἄλλον λέγοντος, οὗτος καὶ τὸ μανθάνειν λέγεται συνιέναι ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ ἐπὶ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ ὃν ἡ φρόνησις ἔστιν ἄλλον λέγοντος*. I propose the following instead: *ώσπερ ὅταν χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ περὶ ὃν ἡ σοφία ἔστιν, ἄλλον λέγοντος, τὸ μανθάνειν καλῶς λέγεται συνιέναι οὗτος ἐν τῷ χρῆσθαι τῇ δόξῃ περὶ ὃν ἡ φρόνησις ἔστιν ἄλλον λέγοντος τὸ κρίνειν καλῶς λέγεται συνιέναι*.

The following points have hitherto been overlooked: (a) *μανθάνειν* is appropriate only to the use of *ἐπιστήμη* and not to the use of *δόξα*. This is proved by line 16 *ἐντέθεν ἐν ἡλύκει τοῦρμα η σύνεσις, καθ' ὃν ενσίνετο, ἐτῆς ἐν τῷ μανθάνειν λέγομεν γάρ τὸ μανθάνειν συνιέναι πολλάκις*. That is, the use of *σύνεσις* to mean 'practical intelligence' has come from its use to mean 'scientific intelligence.' If *μανθάνειν* is understood (as Ramsauer would have it) in the *δόξα* part of the antithesis, surely *ἐντέθεν ἡλύκει τοῦρμα κτλ* becomes unintelligible. (b) *τὸ κρίνειν* in the second part of the antithesis is opposed to *τὸ μανθάνειν* in the first. The formal expression is loose, but quite natural to a writer who is careless of formal precision as long as he thinks the sense clear: I have avoided the looseness by a slight paraphrase in my expansion. (c) *ἐπιστήμη* and *δόξα* are here used in the sense not of 'the contents of knowledge' and 'the contents of opinion' but of 'the faculty of knowledge' and 'the faculty of opinion': *χρῆται τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ = χρῆται τῷ ἐπιστημονικῷ* and not *χρῆται τῷ ἐπιστημῷ*,

$\chiρησθαι$ τῇ δόξῃ = $\chiρησθαι$ τῷ δοξαστικῷ and not $\chiρησθαι$ τῷ δοξατῷ. Coates and Stewart think otherwise—see Stewart's notes. (d) The emphasis is not on $\chiρῆται$ and $\chiρησθαι$ but on $\epsilonπιστήμη$ and δόξῃ, in spite of the order. The usual Greek rule of putting emphatic words at the beginning of a sentence or phrase is not regularly observed by Aristotle as it is by Plato. To take an instance close at hand, in 1142 b 16 ἀλλὰ ὄρθότης τίς ἔστω η̄ εὐβούλια βουλῆς the context shows the emphasis is to be not on ὄρθότης but on βουλῆς—Plato would have written ἀλλὰ βουλῆς ὄρθότης τίς ἔστω η̄ εὐβούλια or the like. (e) The two meanings of $\muανθάνειν$ that the editors quote may be borne in mind here: but whereas one of these two meanings of $\muανθάνειν$ admits $\sigmaυνέιναι$ as a synonym of $\muανθάνειν$, while the other does not, the point is that $\sigmaυνέιναι$ can also be used in a sense in which it is not a synonym of $\muανθάνειν$.—The passage may be paraphrased as follows: 'Learning is often called "understanding," when a man uses his faculty of scientific knowledge (which is the faculty always used in "learning") to grasp what another teaches him about necessary truth: and when a man uses his faculty of discriminating judgment to grasp what another teaches him about practical contingent truth, that exercise of the judgment is by analogy called understanding, if it is of the right kind. The name understanding, in this latter sense, has been diverted from its use as the name of excellence in "learning" necessary truth from another's teaching, as may be seen from the fact that we still (perhaps somewhat improperly now the later use is established) often give the name of "understanding" to this excellence in "learning" necessary truth.'

10. 1143 a 19. Ή δὲ καλουμένη γνώμη, καθ' ἥ την συγγνώμονας καὶ ἔχει φαμὲν γνώμην, η̄ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἐστὶ κρίσις ὄρθη. This section is a remarkable instance of confusion caused by the view that etymological connection between words must carry with it kinship of meaning. $\gammaνώμη$ is taken as the common element in $\sigmaυγγνώμη$ and $\gammaνώμην$ $\epsilonχειν$, which in ordinary language represent two completely different notions; the meaning of $\gammaνώμη$ is arbitrarily fixed as about half-way between the meanings of $\sigmaυγγνώμη$ and $\gammaνώμη$ in $\gammaνώμην$ $\epsilonχειν$: a vague attempt is made to reconcile the two meanings, and $\sigmaυγγνώμη$ is forced, by mere unproved assertion, into being a synonym of $\gammaνώμη$. As a matter of fact $\sigmaυγγνώμη$ represents the notions of 'forgiveness,' 'making allowances,' 'fair kindness,' and the like: the moral element in it, as in $\epsilonπιεικεια$, is essential. $\gammaνώμη$ on the other hand has properly no moral significance. $\gammaνώμην$ $\epsilonχειν$ can mean two things: (a) 'to have an opinion' whether a true or a false one; (b) 'to have a true opinion,' 'to be right' intellectually, 'avoir raison.' The latter meaning, where $\gammaνώμη$ = $\deltaρθη$ or $\deltaληθη$ $\gammaνώμη$, is chosen here to the exclusion of the former. Professor Burnet would, I believe, find it hard to justify his statement that in actual speech $\gammaνώμη$ had a sense corresponding to that of our 'feeling.' Stewart's paraphrase (Notes ii. 89) shows well how the author attempts to unify the two different notions of $\sigmaυγγνώμη$ and $\gammaνώμη$: but no hint is given by him or any one else of what I believe to be the true explanation, that the whole attempt is the result of etymological confusion.

L. H. G. GREENWOOD.

NOTES ON MARCUS AURELIUS.

A VERY large number of the following suggestions had been put into writing before the appearance of Stich's Teubner text in its second edition (1903). The text itself is (I think) quite unaltered: the only change in the book is the addition of a few things in the critical notes, e.g. some of the emendations proposed by Dr. Rendall. A careful re-reading has however given me some new ideas.

1. 6 τὸ γράψαι διαλόγους ἐν παιδί (while a boy).

Considering that Marcus congratulates himself more than once in this first book (§§ 7 and 17) on having given little time to $\sigmaυφιστική$ and $\rhoητορική$, it is somewhat surprising that he should count having written dialogues an advantage. Should we read τὸ <μὴ> γράψαι? He mentions a good many negative advantages he has to be

thankful for, e.g. 4 τὸ μὴ εἰς δημοσίας διατριβᾶς φοιτῆσαι.

8 διὰ ταῦτα should perhaps be δι' αὐτάς or διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

15 τὸ πάντας αὐτῷ πιστεύειν περὶ ὧν λέγοι ὅτι οὗτος φρονεῖ, καὶ περὶ ὧν πράττοι ὅτι οὐκ κακῶς πράττει.

οὐ κακῶς has been questioned and is certainly unsatisfactory. Perhaps οὐκ ἄκων may be proposed. Maximus never said what he did not mean, nor acted reluctantly against his own judgment or feeling. So 3. 5 μήτε ἀκούοντος ἐνέργει . . . μήτε ἀνθελκόμενος: Epict. Ench. 1. 3 ἄκων πράξεις οὐδὲ ἔν: Zeno (quoted in Philo Quod omn. prob. 14. p. 460 M) θάττον ἀν <τις ι> ἀσκὸν βαπτίσαι πλήρη πνεύματος ἢ βάσαστο τὸν (?) σπουδῶν ὄντυνον ἄκοντα δράσατ τι τῶν ἀβουλήτων (perhaps β. τὸν σπ. ὄτιον ἀ. δ. τ. ἀ.).

In Isocr. 5. 25 οὐ κακῶς is a v. l. for οὐκ ἀλόγως, and that too might perhaps stand here.

16 παρέχει should probably be παρέχοι, referring to his father's lifetime.

ibid. φαρμάκων καὶ ἐπιθεμάτων <τῶν> ἐκτός?

ibid. τὸ ἔμφρον καὶ μεμετρημένον ἐν τε θεωρῶν ἐπιτελέστει (ἐπιτελέοει?) καὶ ἔργων κατασκευᾶς, καὶ διανομᾶς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις πρὸς αὐτὸν [δὲ] τὸ δέον πραχθῆναι δεδορκότος, οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθέσιν εὐδοξίαν (δέ wanting in the two best MSS). ἀνθρώποις is obviously wrong. I conjecture that the original was <ώς> ἀνθρώπου, that ὡς fell out after οἰς in ἀνθρώπου, and that ἀνθρόπον was then accommodated to the datives before it. A converse case is perhaps to be found at the beginning of the §, where τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως εἰς τὸ καὶ ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἔκαστω looks meant (Reiske) for τὸ ἀπαρατρέπτως τοῦ καὶ ἀξίαν ἀπονεμητικὸν ἔκαστω.

17 εὐποίᾳ should I think be the dative. Cf. on 5. 35 below.

ibid. χρῆσιν μήτε ἐσθῆτων σημειωτῶν μήτε λαμπάδων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τοιοῦτοι τινῶν καὶ τοῦ δομούν κόμπου.

If τοιῶνδε is not to be expelled altogether, it would seem necessary to write <καὶ> τοιῶνδε τινῶν. Or is that too much like καὶ τοῦ δομούν κόσμου?

ibid. (end) ὅπως τε ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τινὰ σοφιστήν.

So Stich, but there is good authority for

οὗτος instead of ὅπως. Perhaps we might read οὗτος τε ἐπεθύμησα φιλοσοφίας <ώς> μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν. Cf. above on 16.

2. 3 ταῦτα σοι ἀρκεῖτω, εἰ δόγματά ἔστι.

There is authority for ἀεὶ δόγματα ἔστω instead of εἰ δόγματά ἔστι. Perhaps καὶ δόγματα ἔστω.

2. 6 ἴβριζε, ὑβριζε αὐτήν, ὃ ψυχή. τοῦ δὲ τημῆσαι σεαυτὸν οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις βραχὺς γάρ ὁ βίος ἔκαστω.

Surely Gataker was right in wishing to read ἴβριζεις, ὑβριζεις for the imperative, which is intrinsically absurd. Cf. 16 ἴβριζεις ἔαντην ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχή, μάλιστα μὲν ὅταν κ.τ.λ. Moreover the οὐκέτι καιρὸν ἔξεις with a δὲ points distinctly by antithesis to a statement of something being done, not to an imperative.

14 κάν τρισχλίᾳ ἔτη βιώσεσθαι μέλλεις καὶ τοσαντάκις μύρια, ὅμως μέμνησο κ.τ.λ.

In the first place write another κάν (or ἡ) for καὶ. In the second can τοσαντάκις μύρια be right, 3000 years or as many times ten thousand? Who ever used such an expression instead of ten thousand times as many, μυριάκις τοσαντά?

3. 1 τὸ δὲ ἔαντη χρῆσθαι καὶ τοὺς τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀριθμοὺς ἀκριβοῦν κ.τ.λ.

I do not think ἔαντη χρῆσθαι by itself means anything. Some adverb or adverbial expression = καλῶς is needed in addition.

4 ἥτοι γάρ ἄλλον ἔργον στέρη, τοντέστι φανταζόμενος τί ὁ δέινος πράστει κ.τ.λ.

ἥτοι is quite meaningless and ἄλλον can hardly be said to have any meaning. I have thought doubtfully of οὐτω γάρ πολλοῦ ἔργον στέρη, which gives good sense itself and improves the meaning of τοντέστι, as explaining in part οὗτος.

ibid. δέ γάρ τοι ἀνὴρ ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐκέτι ὑπερτιθέμενος τὸ ὡς ἐν ἀρίστοις ἥδη εἴναι, κ.τ.λ.

ώς ἐν ἀρίστοις is I think a phrase of an unknown kind as an equivalent for ὡς ἀρίστος. Perhaps ὡς ἐν ἥδηστα, or ὡς ἀν ἀρίστος, if the ἀν is admissible, of which I am not sure.

6 τῷ λογικῷ καὶ ποιητικῷ ἀγαθῷ.

Read ἀγαθοῦ, as in 3. 11 μεγαλοφροσύνης ποιητικόν: 6. 52: 8. 14: 9. 1 twice. Cf. on 1. 16 above.

8 In the purified man there is nothing δοῦλον οὐδὲ κομψὸν οὐδὲ προσδεδεμένον οὐδὲ ἀτεσχυσμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεύθυνον οὐδὲ ἐμφωλεύον. Would not ἀνυπεύθυνον give a better sense? There seem three pairs of opposed terms.

12 τὴν ὄντα λέγεις καὶ φθέγγης ἡρωικῆς ἀληθείας ἀρκούμενος.

ἡρωικῆς is quite out of place, and Dr. Rendall's *εὐροϊκῆ* (which he translates *even truth*) does not recommend itself very much. The first letter may be a ditto-graph of the last in *φθέγγη*. Can we make anything of ὄντα? *Ῥωμαϊκῆ* occurs to me as just a possibility. Cf. 5 δὸν τοι θέος ἔστο προστάτης ζώντος καὶ ἄρρενος καὶ πρεσβύτοντος καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ *Ῥωμαίου* καὶ ἄρχοντος: 2. 5 φρόντιζε στιβαρῶς ὡς *Ῥωμαῖος* καὶ ἄρρων: Martial xi. 20. 10 *qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui*: etc.

15 οὐν ἵστοι πόσα σημαίνει τὸ κλέπτειν, τὸ σπείρειν, τὸ ὄντεισθαι, τὸ ἡσυχάζειν.

It is not easy to correct κλέπτειν, but surely ὄντεισθαι must be κινέισθαι.

4. 3 πάντα ταῦτα ὅσα δρᾶς ὅσον οὐδέπω μεταβάλλει καὶ οὐκέτι ἔσται.

ἔσται and the parallel passage in 7. 25 prove that we should read μεταβάλλει. Cf. ὅσον οὐδέπω with future in 10. 11, with μέλλω in 7. 70.

12 Ή speaks of a readiness to change, ἐὰν ἄρα τις παρῇ διορθῶν καὶ μετάγων ἀπὸ τούτων οὐτεπειστείς.

παρῇ does not seem very suitable. Would παρίη, *comes forward, presents himself*, be better? Cf. Plat. Rep. 494 D τῷ δὲ οὐτῷ διατιθεμένῳ ἐάν τις ἡρέμα προσελθὼν τάληθῇ λέγῃ, ὅτι γοῦν οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ.

16 ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν θεός αὐτοῖς δόξεις οὐς νῦν θηρίον καὶ πίθηκος, ἐάν ἀνακάμψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὸν σεβασμὸν τοῦ λόγου.

This is of course a reference to the saying ascribed in *Hippias Maior* 289 B to Heraclitus, ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφώτατος πρὸς θεόν (in comparison with God or a god) πίθηκος φανέται. Dr. Rendall has in consequence conjectured that we should read here θεός <θεοῖς> αὐτοῖς δόξεις. But why should they admire him so much as to account him one of themselves? Surely merely reverting to principles and revering reason would not move them to such enthusiasm. Let us rather read θεοῖς for θεός and for αὐτοῖς probably ἀνθρώπος, to which (1) the antithesis of θηρίον, (2) the use of the word by Heraclitus agree in pointing. ἀνθρωπός, written in its

shorter form ἄνος, is certainly corrupted sometimes, e.g. into ἄλλος (cf. on 10. 10), but I cannot quote a case of confusion with αὐτός.

17 μὴ ὡς μύρια μέλλων ἔτη ζῆν.

'Do not live as though you had a thousand years before you,' Rendall. 'Do not act,' Long. Probably some such word as διανοοῦ is lost. Cf. 2. 11 ὡς ἥδη δινατοῦ ὄντος ἔξειναι τοῦ βίου, οὐτος ἔκαστα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι.

19 ὁ περὶ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν ἐπτομένος οὐ φαντάζεται ὅτι κ.τ.λ. . . μέχρι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ μημή ἀποσβῆ δι' ἐπτομένων καὶ σβεννυμένων προῖοντα.

ἐπτομένων is quite unmeaning as well as wrong in tense, and is evidently nothing but an accidental repetition of ἐπτομένος above. I conjecture the true word to have been ἔξαπτομένων, which matches σβεννυμένων, as in 7. 24 ἀπεσβέσθη, ὅπε τὸ δῶλος ἔξαφθην μὴ δύνασθαι (cf. *Republic* 498 A B). Cf. also 21 and 9. 9. Nauk's μεμημένων is not happy.

20 τί τούτων διὰ τὸ ἐπανεῖσθαι καλόν ἔστιν ἡ φεγγόμενον φθείρεται; σμαράγδιον γάρ ἔαντον χειρὸν γίγνεται, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπανῆται; τί δὲ χρονός; κ.τ.λ.

φθείρεται and still more χειρὸν γίγνεται point to reading κάλλιον for καλόν, and a few lines above we have οὐτε γοῦν χειρὸν ἡ (?) κρέπτον γίγνεται τὸ ἐπανούμενον. Read also δέ for γάρ after σμαράγδιον, and four lines above τὸ δέ γε for τὸ γε δέ.

50 ὅλον μικρόν ἔστι τὸ διάστημα (the difference in length of life), καὶ τοῦτο δι' ὅσων καὶ μεθ' οῶν ἔξαντλομένων καὶ ἐν οἷς σωματιῷ.

Read δι' οῶν which is much more natural in itself and confirmed by the double use of οῶς in the words following. Cf. also 6. 59.

5. 4 πορεύομαι διὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν μέχρι πεσῶν ἀναπάνσομαι.

Is the future indicative found after ἔως or μέχρι? Should we not read ἀναπάνσομαι? I suspect on the other hand that πορεύομαι should be πορεύσομαι.

6 One man makes a merit of any service he may do. Another is at any rate conscious of having done it. A third seems all unconscious: ἀνθρωπός δ' εὐ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐπιβάται ἀλλὰ μεταβαίνει ἐφ' ἔτερον. ἀνθρωπός here is much too general. It is not a man, that is the ordinary man, who is thus

described, but the man of rare character. Read therefore ἄνθρωπον, governed by ἐν ποιήσας. Cf. 9. 42 (near end) τί γάρ πλέον θέλεις εὖ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπον;

There is something wrong in the description of the second character too. The sentences run: ὃ μέν τις ἔστιν, ὅταν τι δεξιὸν περὶ τινα πράξη, πρόχειρος καὶ λογίσασθαι (imputare) αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν. ὃ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν οὐ πρόχειρος, ἀλλος μέντοι παρ' ἔαντῷ ὡς περὶ χρεώστου διανοεῖται καὶ οἶδεν διεποίκεν. There is no plausible suggestion for ἀλλος κ.τ.λ. I have thought of ὄλλως for ἀλλος (a confusion found I think elsewhere); also of <οὐκ> ἀλλως . . . <ἢ> ὡς περί, or <οὐκ> ἀλλως περὶ αὐτῷ ἢ περί. The first seems the best.

9. μὴ ὡς πρὸς παιδαγωγὸν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐπανιέναι, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ ὄφθαλμῶντες πρὸς τὸ σπογγάριον καὶ τὸ ϕόνον, ὡς ἄλλος πρὸς κατάπλασμα, ὡς πρὸς καταιόγησιν. οὗτος γάρ οὐδὲν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναπαύσῃ αὐτῷ (find rest and refreshment in it).

Dr. Rendall translates the last words 'not a question of outward show but of inward refreshment': Long (reading I can hardly tell what) 'thou wilt not fail to obey reason and thou wilt repose in it.' Coray conjectured ἔτι δῆξει for ἐπιδείξῃ. I would suggest οὐδὲν ἐπιδείσομει, or οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσομει, τοῦ πειθαρχεῖν, 'there will be no need then to obey reason,' i.e. with more or less constraint and reluctance: conformity to it will be natural and pleasant. Cf. Wordsworth's well known lines in the Ode to Duty.

Perhaps we should read ὡς <ἄλλος> πρὸς καταιόγησιν, or ἢ for ὡς without adding ἄλλος. αὐτό a line or two below should be αὐτά, as τούτων following and ἢ preceding combine to show.

12 ἔπακονται should probably be ἔπακονται, both as the fitter word and to harmonise with ἔπακονται just before.

23 πῶς οὖν οὐ μωρὸς ὁ ἐν τούτοις φυσώμενος ἡ σπώμενος ἡ σχετλιάζων ὡς ἐν ται χρόνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσαντι; (v.l. ἐπὶ μακρόν. Reiske ἐνοχλήσασι.)

It is surely clear that the last word should be future, not aorist. But we might think either of ὡς ἐν τ. χ. καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσονται as in some space of time which will trouble him even for a little, or, better perhaps, of ὡς ἐν τ. χ. καὶ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνοχλήσονται, as though they would trouble him in (a certain period of time) and for long. For the latter

interpretation the dative (ἐνοχλήσονται) is not necessary; ὡς with the accusative is quite admissible.

26 Certain affections (*πείσεις*) of ours should be confined to the parts immediately affected: ὅταν δὲ ἀναδιδῶνται κατὰ τὴν ἐπέραν συμπάθειαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐν σώματι ἡρωμένῳ, τότε κ.τ.λ. The translators make no sense of ἐπέραν. Did not Marcus write ἡμετέραν? The first two letters might be lost after the γν of τὴν. So in Alciphron 1. 4 Dobree saw that τὴν ἀκτὴν stands for τὴν ἡλακάτην.

28 θεραπέύσεις should perhaps be θεραπέύσει, he will attend to it. We should remember that θεραπεύω, like *curo*, does not mean to cure.

29 ὡς ἔξελθων ζῆν διανοῇ, οὗτος ἐνταῦθα ζῆν ἔστοιν. ἐν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπωσι, τότε καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἔξιθι.

Read ἔξελθὼν <τοῦ> ζῆν: 'as you think to exist after quitting life, even so you can live here.' Even when ἔξιέναι is repeated in the second sentence, τοῦ ζῆν is added to it. ἔξελθὼν might perhaps stand alone (like ἔξαγεν, ἔξαγωγή), but ζῆν could hardly be used thus of a state after death. Out of ζῆν it is easy to supply another vaguer infinitive.

31 The first sentence with its πῶς is no more a direct question than the second with its εἰ. In both cases we supply something like 'ask yourself.' Observe ἀναμιμνήσκου δέ following.

35 εἰ μήτε κακία ἔστι τοῦτο ἐμὴ μήτε ἐνέργεια κατὰ κακίαν ἐμήν.

Read κακία . . . ἐμῆ . . . ἐνέργεια.

6. 10 Why care to live? τί δέ μοι καὶ μέλει ἄλλου τυὸς ἢ τοῦ ὅπως ποτὲ αἰα γίνεσθαι;

αἰα seems quite impossible. Ménage's γαῖα γενέσθαι is better (cf. 3. 3 where the body is called γῆ καὶ λύθρος, and II. 24. 54 κωδῆν γαῖαν δεύκιζει), but the poetical form is much against it. I have sometimes thought that we might repeat the last two letters of ποτέ and for τεαα read τέφρα or τέφραν. ρ and ι are very often confused. Cf. 4. 3 πόσοι ηδη . . . ἐκτέανται καὶ τεέφρωνται: ib. 48 κατιδεῖν δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὡς ἐφήμερα καὶ εὐτελῆς καὶ ἔχθες μὲν μυξάριον, αὐτοῖς δὲ τάριχος ἢ τέφρα, and σποδός in 5. 33: 12. 27. Also Herodas 1. 38 and 10. 2. Theocr. Ep. 6. 6.

It seems hardly possible that the infinitive γενέσθαι can be right alone. But cf.

7. 58 αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τὸ πῶς χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅλος γενέσθαι, and 10. 16 μηκέθ' ὅλως περὶ τοῦ οἵνων τίνα εἴναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα διαλέγεσθαι, where Coray inserts δεῖ after ἄνδρα. But we might escape the difficulty here and in 7. 58 by reading πῶς. Cf. 4. 50 πάντως πού ποτε κείνται. So in Alciphron 1. 13 it is better to write ποθὲν γάρ ποτε, not πόθεν γάρ ποτε.

12 εἰ μητριάν τε ὄμα εἰχεις καὶ μητέρα, ἔκάνην τε ἀνὴρέπεινεις καὶ ὄμοις ἡ ἐπάνοδος στοι πρὸς τὴν μητέρα συνεχής ἐγίνετο. τοῦτο σοι νῦν ἔστιν ἡ αὐλὴ καὶ ἡ φιλοσοφία. ὁδὲ πολλάκις ἐπάνιθι καὶ προσανατάνοι ταῦτη.

The general sense seems to indicate that ἔστω should be ἔστω, and the imperatives following confirm this. Possibly ταῦτα for τοῦτο.

13 ὅπον λίαν ἀξιόπιστα τὰ πράγματα φαντάζεται, ἀπογυμνῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν αὐτῶν καθορᾶν καὶ τὴν ιστορίαν ἐφ' ἡ σεμνύνεται περιπαιρίν. Δεινὸς γάρ ὁ τύφος παραλογιστῆς καὶ . . . καταγοητεύει.

For ιστορίαν, which is manifestly wrong, Reiske conjectured and Nauck approved τερθρείαν. Rendall would read ὑψηγορίαν. I would rather think of ῥητορείαν, which is nearer to ιστορίαν than either and harmonises well enough with παραλογιστῆς and καταγοητεύει. The word occurs in 10. 38. For π and ι cf. above on 10.

14 τὰ ὑπὸ ἔξεως ἡ φύσεως συνεχόμενα are contrasted first with τὰ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς and then with τὰ ὑπὸ λογικῆς ψυχῆς (cf. 10. 2) in such a way that it is clear they are inanimate things and plants (Λίθος . . . ἔλασ). But, to give this meaning, ἔξει, if not φύσις, must have some qualifying word, such as σωματική or θλική added to it. Standing alone, it might just as well be mental (11. 18 under τέταρτον and 12. 16) as material.

16 ἐπὶ τι should perhaps be ἐπὶ τοῦτο. τό, which is confused with both, might be the tertium quid.

27 πῶς ὡμόν ἔστι μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κ.τ.λ.

We should expect ὡς, as in 5. 2 ὡς εὔκολον κ.τ.λ. and elsewhere in exclamations. But a similar mistake, if it is one, occurs in several places, e.g. 8. 3 : 10. 19 and 36 : 11. 7.

30 ὡς ὀλίγοις ἀρκούμενος, οἷον οἰκήσει, στρωματῆς, ἐσθῆτης, τροφῆς, ὑπηρεσίας.

These things fairly exhaust the requirements of the most luxurious and exacting among us; cf. 12. 2. The question should

rather be of the kind of food, clothing, etc. Ought we for οἷον to read οἴη, harmonising very well with ὡς?

38 Speaking of the bond that holds all things together, he says τοῦτο δὲ δὰ τὴν τονικήν (οὐ τοπικήν) κίνησιν καὶ σύμπτυχον καὶ τὴν ἔνωσιν τῆς οὐσίας.

τονικήν hardly makes sense: perhaps γενικήν. For κίνησιν there are such conjectures as σύνησιν and κοίνωσιν.

44 The obscure sentence εἰ δ' ἄρα περὶ μηδενὸς βουλεύονται will come out right, if we see that the parenthesis is not πιστεύειν μὲν οὐχ ὄστον, as Stich gives it, where μέν would be unmeaning, but πιστεύειν . . . βουλεύονται. The second εἰ . . . βουλεύονται resumes the first, and the δέ in it answers to the μέν after πιστεύειν. We must take ἢ, not οὐ, the meaning being 'or, if we do believe, let us not offer sacrifice' etc., and (I think) read μῆτε for μηδὲ throughout. In the Didot text the Greek is improperly punctuated, but the Latin translation gives the right sense. Dr. Rendall seems to miss it.

46. πάσχειν should apparently be πάσχεις.

47 αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπικήρου καὶ ἐφημέρου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζωῆς χλευασταί.

It looks as though αὐτῆς should be ταῦτης. The adjectives do not suit αὐτῆς: 'mockers even at our brief and calamitous life' is hardly sense.

50 πειρῶ μὲν πείθειν αἴτοις: πράττε δὲ καὶ ἀκόντων, ὅταν τῆς δικαιούντης ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἄγγι.

Perhaps αἴρη, for the confusion is found elsewhere. Cf. 2. 5 τοῦ αἰροῦντος λόγου: 10. 32 οὐδὲ γάρ αἱρεῖ λόγος (ζῆν) μὴ τοιούτον ὄντα. But αἴγα may not be wrong.

55 εἰ κιβερνῶντα οἱ ναῦται ἡ ιατρεύοντα οἱ κάρυνοντες κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἀλλο τινὶ ἀν προσεῖχον ἡ πῶς αὐτὸς ἐνέργοι τὸ τοῖς ἐμπλέοντι σωτήριον ἡ τὸ τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ὑγειῶν;

Rendall translates this: 'If the sailors abused the pilot, or the sick the physician, would they have any other object than to make him save the crew or heal the patients?' Long, adopting the other punctuation, 'would they listen to anybody else? or how could the helmsman secure the safety of those in the ship?' etc. I do not see the point of the passage on either of these interpretations, nor why with ἀν past tenses of the indicative should be used rather than optatives. One would expect

too τὸν κυβερνῶντα and τὸν ἰατρεύοντα. The article is omitted because the participles refer to the subject of προσέχον, which is in reality first person singular, not third plural. 'If the crew had spoken ill of me when I commanded a vessel, or my patients when I was doctoring them, should I have given my mind to any thing but'—what? 'how I was myself to do what their preservation required.' Read ἐνεργοίην. Marcus means that he does not any more than the doctor or the navigating officer allow himself to be distracted by complaints and discontent.

7. 3 κυνιδίους ὄστραπον ἐρριμένον.

Perhaps a verse. Why else should κ. come first?

30 συμπαρεκτένειν τὴν νόησιν τοῖς λεγομένοις. εἰσδύεσθαι τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ ποιῶντα.

Read probably τοῖς γενομένοις or γιγνομένοις. γενόμενος and λεγόμενος are well known to be sometimes confused. τοῖς γιγνομένοις makes excellent sense and is confirmed by the next sentence, whereas most of τὰ λεγόμενα call for no mental strain and τοῖς λεγομένοις would be too complimentary to other people.

34 οὐδὲ τὰς διανοίας αὐτῶν οἷα καὶ οἷα μὲν φεύγονται, οἷα δὲ διώκονται may be right, but I suspect we should read φεύγονται and διώκονται, as in 4. 38: 10. 13. The confusion may be found in other places.

55 τούτων οὖν ἔχόμενον τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εὐθέα περανέτω καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἔαντον.

After an imperative Greek idiom needs the future ξεῖται. In 11. 16 we should certainly read ξεῖται for ἔστω with Gataker, χαῖρε αὐτοῖς καὶ ῥάδια ἔστω σοι.

58 θέλε σεαυτῷ καλὸς εἶναι ἐπὶ παντὸς οὐ πράσσεις.

Coray conjectured καλῶς εἶναι. I would rather suggest ἰκανὸς εἶναι, the confusion of καλὸς and ἰκανὸς being quite familiar.

64 λανθάνει goes with πόνῳ ταῦτὰ ὄντα, not with δυνχερανόμενα, as the last words of the § show.

8. 3 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ Γάιος καὶ Πομπήιος τί πρὸς Διογένη καὶ Ἡράκλειτον καὶ Σωκράτην; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἴδον τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς ὑλας, καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ ἦν αὐτῶν ταῦτά ἐκεῖ δὲ ὄστων (or ὄστη) πρόνοια καὶ δουλεία πόσων;

πρόνοια is a good quality and the word

could hardly be used in this disparaging sort of way. M. Casaubon παράνοια. Περίνοια (cf. 1. 7: 8. 36: Ar. Frogs 958) might be more suitable. One would think πόσων ought to be ὄστων, but cf. on 6. 27.

8. 'Αναγγυγόσκειν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' ὑβριν ἀνέργειαν ἔξεστιν ἀλλ' ἡδονῶν καὶ πόνων καθυπερτερεύειν ἔξεστιν κ.τ.λ.

Dr. Rendall suggests πάντα γιγνόσκειν. But a comparison of Epictetus 4. 4 fully confirms ἀναγγυγόσκειν. The whole of that fourth chapter is devoted to answering the complaints of a man who finds that he has not leisure for reading—κακῶς μοι ἔστω οὐκ εὐσχολῶ ἀναγνῶναι. The Stoic points out that he is perhaps just as well occupied otherwise. Renan therefore also misconceives the meaning of the words before us, when he supposes (*Marc-Aurèle*, p. 464) the emperor to have written them *un jour qu'il dut déposer par fatigue le livre qu'il tenait à la main*.

Cf. the references to books in 2. 3 τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δύψαντα μῆψον and, though obscure, in 2. 2: 4. 30 (in which passage I have sometimes thought the two last clauses should be written as questions).

16 μέμνησο ὅτι καὶ τὸ μετατίθεσθαι καὶ ἐπεσθαι τῷ διορθώντι ὄμοιώς ἐλεύθερόν ἔστι.

I should prefer ἐλεύθερον. Cf. on 11. 9.

22 δικαίως ταῦτα πάσχεις μᾶλλον δὲ θέλεις ἀγαθὸς αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι η σήμερον εἴναι.

Write γάρ for δέ.

30 λαλεῖν καὶ ἐν συγκλήτῳ καὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὄντινον μὴ περιτρανῶς ὑγιεῖ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι.

περιτρανῶς has been doubted, and I was myself disposed to alter it, until I read in Longinus (*Rhetores Graeci* Teubner I. ii. p. 216) χρὴ τὸν παραμιθούμενον μὴ μετὰ σοφιστικῆς τρανότητος ἀλλὰ μετὰ συμπεπονθίας λέγειν ἀπλότητος.

32. συντίθεναι δὲ τὸν βίον κατὰ μίαν πρᾶξιν καὶ εἰ ἔκαστη τὸ ἔαντης παρέχει ὡς οἰόν τε ἀρκεῖσθαι ἵνα δὲ τὸ ἔαντης παρέχῃ, οὐδὲ εἰς τε κωλύσαι δύναται.

(1) I am inclined to suggest κατὰ μίαν <ἔκαστην> πρᾶξιν. κατὰ μίαν πρᾶξιν cannot mean that, and, if it meant *like (so as to form) a single action*, the ἔκαστη following would be intolerable. (2) Should μὴ be inserted in the last words after ἵνα δέ or τὸ ἔαντης, or is it the abuse of ἵνα?

35 ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἔκαστον (ἔκαστος, ἔκαστη) τῶν λογικῶν σχεδὸν ὄστον η

τῶν λογικῶν φύσις, οὗτος καὶ ταύτην παρ' αὐτῆς εἰλήφαμεν.

I suggest something like ἐκάστω... σχεδὸν δίδωσιν ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις, believing λογικῶν to be a mere inadvertent repetition of the λογικῶν preceding. For ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις cf. 6 ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις τοῦτο ἔργον ἔχει; 12. 23 τὸν ὄρον δίδωσιν ἡ φύσις... ἡ τῶν ὅλων, etc.

45 Should συνδυομένη, which means nothing, be ἀναδυομένη, matching ὀρεγομένη?

48 οὐδὲν ὀχυρώτερον ἔχει ἀνθρωπὸς ἐφ' ὁ καταφυγὴν ἀνάλωτος λουπὸν ἀντίην ὁ μὲν οὖν μὴ ἑωρακὼς τοῦτο ἀμαβής, ὁ δὲ ἑωρακὼς καὶ μὴ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῆς. Should ἀμαβής and ἀτυχῆς change places? The second at any rate seems odd where it stands.

52 τίς οὖν φαίνεται σοι ὁ τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἔπαινον φεύγων ἥδιον, οὐ οὖθ' ὅπου εἰσὶν οἱ θούτες εἰσὶ γιγνώσκουσι;

There is no sense to be got out of this, nor is Gataker's bold conjecture (τὸν τῶν κροτούντων ἡ φύγον φεύγων [as though οἱ κροτούντες could blame] ἡ ἔπαινον διώκων οἱ), or Dübner's modification of that (τὸν τ. κ. ἔπαινον διώκων οἱ), satisfactory. Perhaps οὐ should be read for ὁ (as in 10. 25) and ἀν added so as to give the meaning *who would not prefer to avoid?*

Cf. the change proposed in 12. 8 below.

I have also thought of τί σοι φαίνεται τοῦ τὸν τ. κ. ἔπαινον φεύγειν ἥδιον.

55 ὅπόταν πρῶτον οὗτος θελήσῃ. αὐτός?

58 ὁ τὸν θάνατον φοβούμενος ητοι ἀναισθησίαν φοβεῖται ἡ αἰσθησιν ἔτεροιαν. ἀλλ' εἴτ' οὐκέτι αἰσθησιν, οὐδὲ κακὸν τινος αἰσθῆσην εἴτ' ἀλλοιοτέραν αἰσθησιν κτήσῃ, κ.τ.λ.

Read οὐκέτι αἰσθῆσην or αἰσθησιν <ἔξεις>. We can hardly understand ἔξεις out of the coming κτήσει.

9. 9 ὥστε χρῆσιν τῶν διαιργόντων καὶ βίας.

Rather διεργόντων by Greek idiom, and possibly βίᾳ.

21 ἐνεργείας ἀπόληξις, δρμῆς <καὶ> ὑπολήψεως παῦλα καὶ οὐσιῶν θάνατος, οὐδὲν κακόν.

καὶ is due to Gataker. Perhaps a substantive has been lost, parallel to ἀπόληξις and παῦλα.

41 Epicurus used to ask himself πῶς ἡ διάνοια συμμεταλαμβάνοντα τῶν ἐν τῷ σαρκιδίῳ τοιούτων κινήσεων ἀταρακτεῖ, τὸ ίδιον ἀγάθον τηροῦσα.

Rather <οὐ> συμμεταλαμβάνοντα. The very point is that it did not share in the κινήσεις. οὐ would easily fall out before συ. τοιούτων may be right, but seems rather pointless. Qy. τοιτῷ?

At the end of the § πράσσει wants a subject and should probably be πράσσεις.

10. 6 μέρος εἰμὶ τοῦ ὅλου, ὑπὸ φύσεως διοικουμένον.

Perhaps διοικούμενον or even -ος. Cf. 2 τί σον ἡ φύσις ἐπιζητεῖ, ὡς ὑπὸ φύσεως μόνον διοικουμένου.

7 εἰ δὲ φύσει κακόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι τοῦτο αὐτοῖς (i.e. for the parts to perish), οὐκ ἀν τὸ ὅλον καλῶς διεξάγοιτο, τῶν μερῶν εἰς ἀλλοτρίων ἴστων καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθείρεσθαι διαφόρως κατεσκενασμένων.

I am puzzled by the combination of κακόν and ἀναγκαῖον, nor can I, if the text is right, make any coherent sense of the whole §, especially of the πότερον γὰρ ἐπεχείροτεν ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέρη κακοῦ, which immediately follows the words quoted. But other readers do not seem to have felt any difficulty. At present my impression is that κακόν and καλῶς should be changed to καλόν and κακός respectively. What is good and necessary for the parts cannot be bad for the whole, for nature never set about injuring her own parts.

8 (near end) Is there any such word as ὅπιπερ that, a form of ὅτι?

9 μῆμος, πόλεμος, πτοία, νάρκη, δουλεία καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαλεύεται σον τα ἴερα ἐκείνα δόγματα, ὅποσα ὁ φνοιαλογητὸς (ὅποσα ἀφνοιαλογητώς Gataker, ὅπόστα οὐ φνοιαλογητώς, Rendall) φαντάζει καὶ παραπέμπει.

μῆμος and πόλεμος, πτοία and νάρκη appear to be contrasted respectively, but δουλεία stands alone without a contrast. Is it possible that its proper antithesis ἀρχῆ has fallen out after the very similar letters of νάρκη?

10 ἀράχνιον μῆμαν θηράσταν μέγα φρονεῖ, ἄλλος δὲ λαγήδιον, ἄλλος δὲ ὑποχῆ ἀφύην, ἄλλος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

Should the first ἄλλος be ἄνος, i.e. ἀνθρώπος? Cf. on 4. 16 above.

19 οἱοί εἰσιν ἐσθιόντες, καθεύδοντες, ὀχεύοντες, ἀποπατοῦντες, τάλλα. εἴτα οἱοί ἀνδρονομούμενοι καὶ γαυρούμενοι ἡ χαλεπάνοτες καὶ ἔξι περορῆς ἐπιπλήγτοντες. πρὸ δὲ λίγον δὲ ἐδούλευν πότοις καὶ δι' οἰα, καὶ μετ' διλίγον ἐν τοιούτοις ἔσονται.

For ἀνδρονομούμενοι, which is meaningless, there are conjectures such as ἀβρυνόμενοι, Reiske; ἀνδριζόμενοι, Coray; ἀνδρογυνούμενοι, Rendall. Of these the first is the best, both as being nearest and because some word seems wanted that may be coupled with γυνούμενοι as the other two expressions are coupled together in sense. I would suggest as alternatives, and coming perhaps even nearer, either φαιδρινόμενοι or λαμπτρούμενοι. It is hard to see the meaning of ἐν τοιούτοις. Perhaps ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, i.e. ἐν δοντείᾳ. For ἐν πόσοις καὶ δι' οἵα (cf. 9. 34) see above on 8. 3.

23 ἐναργὲς ἔστω δεῖ τὸ ὅτι τοιούτοις ἐκεῖνο ὁ ἀγρός ἔστι, καὶ πῶς πάντα ἔστι ταῦτα ἐνθάδε τοῖς ἐν ἄκρῳ τῷ ὅρει οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγαλοῦ οὐ ποτὸν θέλεις.

Dr. Rendall's translation 'take for your axiom the old truth—the field is where you make it' is difficult to connect with the Greek, and his idea that the field 'signifies the place of seclusion and retirement, as in iv. § 3' seems fanciful. Long's 'that this piece of land is like any other' gives a better sense, though hardly the right one and not quite to be got out of the Greek either. I do not feel at all sure what Marcus is saying, but I should like to suggest τοιούτοις (or ταῦτα) ἐκείνων ὁ ἀγρός ἔστι, his field is to another man much as your court, your empire, is to you; things here and on the mountain-top and on the seashore are all at bottom the same. ἐκείνως would also give a similar sense. Cf. 27, including the words quoted from it below; also 15. πῶς should perhaps be πως.

25 ὁ τὸν κύριον φεύγων δραπέτης' κύριος δὲ ὁ νόμος' καὶ ὁ παρανομῶν δραπέτης.

The last words want a connecting particle, οὖν (lost after *ων*) or ἀρά (lost before *δρα*).

27 πάντα γάρ ἐκεῖνα τοιαῦτα οὐ, μόνον δι' ἔτέρων.

Probably ταῦτα οὐ, for μόνον δι' ἔτέρων wants something stronger than τοιαῦτα, with which it does not contrast sufficiently.

31 οἴαν should surely be ποίαν.

33 οὐ πρότερον παύσῃ στένων πρὶν οὐ τοῦτο πάθησι, οὐτι οἴοντο τοῖς ἡδυπαθοῦσιν οὐ τρυφή, τοιούτοις καὶ κ. τ. λ.

Read μάθης for πάθης.

34 τῷ δεδημένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων ἀρκεῖ καὶ τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κείμενον εἰς ἐπόμνησιν ἀλυπίας καὶ ἀφοβίας οἴοντο Φύλλα

τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει . . . Ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενετή.

'When once true principles have bitten in,' 'to him who is penetrated by true principles' say the translators. Gataker who cannot stomach (*concoquere*) either δεδεγμένῳ or δεδεγμένῳ, which he found in some editions, suggests δεδεμένῳ (not δεδιδαγμένῳ which Stich ascribes to him), quoting Plato's δόξα δευτοπούσος: such a use is however improbable. According to Stich's critical note one MS has τῷ δεδογμένῳ and one has τῶν δεδηγμένων. The genitive in the latter may very well be a mere accident, but it falls in with what I think the true reading. Δ and Λ being so often confused, it is probable that we should read τῶν λελεγμένων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀ. δ., the genitive depending on and giving an improved meaning to τὸ βραχύτατον καὶ . . . κείμενον.

36 μὴ ἔσται cannot mean 'will there not be?' as the translators take it. It looks like a non-Attic construction, equivalent to the Homeric and occasional Attic use of μὴ and μὴ οὐ with subjunctive in independent sentences (Goodwin *M.T.* 261-264): 'I fear there will be.' But μὴ is wanting altogether in Stich's codex A.

ibid. τὸ ἴδιον ἔθος διατρέζων, φίλος καὶ εὐνοεῖς καὶ θεοίς.

Read ηθος.

11. 9 καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀσθενές, τὸ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτοῖς κ. τ. λ.

Perhaps ἀσθενῶν, as in 18 ἀστερεῖ οὐ λύτη ἀσθενῶν, οὐτος καὶ οὐ δργή. Cf. on 8. 16 above.

11 εἰ μέν should apparently be omitted. Does it arise from ὥμεν concluding the § before?

16 Perhaps καλλιστα δή, or καλλίστη δή, οὐ δύναμις αὐτη.

18 (under ἔννατον) ἐὰν διατελῆς εὐμενῆς αὐτῷ καὶ . . . πράτως παρανῆς καὶ μεταδιδάσκης εὐσχολῶν.

For εὐσχολῶν, which is quite inappropriate, read εὐκόλως.

ibid. οὐδὲ μὲν οὐ μὴ βλαβῶ σὺ δέ βλάπτη, τέκνον.

The sense and the οὐ μὴ point clearly to βλαψη for βλάπτη. Cf. on 9. 9 etc.

ibid. δεῖ δὲ μήτε εἰρωνικῶς αὐτὸ ποιεῖν μήτε ὀνειδιστικῶς ἀλλὰ φιλοστόργως καὶ ἀδήκτως τῇ ψυχῇ.

τῇ ψυχῇ, could hardly be added in this way. Read *φιλοστόργυ* καὶ ἀδήκτῳ *τῇ ψυχῇ*.

12. 1 μὴ τὸ πάντεσθαι ποτε τοῦ ζῆν φοβηθῆς. ἀλλὰ τό γε μηδέποτε ἀρξασθαι κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν.

πάντεσθαι should of course be aorist, like *ἀρξασθαι*.

2. ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ἡγεμονικὰ γυμνὰ τῶν ὑλικῶν ἀγγείων καὶ φλοιῶν καὶ καθαρμάτων ὄρῃ.

καθαρμάτων are strange things indeed to be 'bare' of. Is it not clear that we should read *καθαρμάτων*?

5. οὐκ ἀν δ' οὐτῷ διελεγόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἄριστοι καὶ δικαιότατοί εἰσιν.

Is *εἰσίν* a mistake for *ἡσαν*? It may be right, but I do not recall a parallel in Greek, or in Latin either, for such constructions as *carmina ni sint, ex umero Pelopis non nitiuisset ebur* take the subjunctive.

8. θέασασθαι . . . τί θάνατος, τί δόξα, τίς δέ έαντοῦ ἀσχολίας αἴτιος, πῶς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐμποδίζεται.

The third point here suggested, 'who is the man that involves himself in disquiet and trouble,' seems hardly natural or in keeping with the others. I would suggest that for *ὁ* we should read *οὐ* or rather *οὐχ*, meaning that a man is always responsible for his own *ἀσχολία*. It goes along with the next words *πῶς . . . ἐμποδίζεται*. *έαντοῦ* and *ὑπ' ἄλλου*, *τίς οὐ*, and *οὐδεὶς* match one another. For the correction of *ὁ* to *οὐ* cf. on 8. 52 above.

12 The use of *μήτε* and not *οὐτε* shows

something to be wrong or missing. Should the first *μεμπτέον* be *μέμφεσθαι*?

16 ἐπὶ τοῦ φαντασίαν παρασχόντος ὅτι ἡμαρτεῖ τί δαὶ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο ἀμάρτημα· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡμαρτεῖ, ὅτι κατέκρινεν αὐτὸς έαντοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ὅμοιον τοῦτο τῷ καταδρύπτειν τὴν έαντοῦ ὅψιν.

Rendall and Long follow Coray, rightly I think, in adding an *οὐ* before *κατέκρινεν*: 'how do I know that he did not condemn himself?' But what is the point of the comparison that follows? 'How do I know that he did not condemn himself?' is a suggestion in the man's favour, whereas the comparison to scratching your own face would tell against him. I do not feel very sure of the drift, but am inclined to suggest *οὐ κατέκρινον*. 'Even if he did do wrong, in condemning him for it was I not condemning myself (since I do the same or similar things) and scratching my own face?' *έαντοῦ* may of course = *έμαντόν*.

27 ὑπὸ ἀτυφίᾳ. ἐπὶ τοι ὑπό?

31 τί ἐπιζητεῖς; τὸ διαγίνεσθαι; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι; τὸ ὄρμαν; τὸ αἴξεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. τί τούτων πάθον τοι ἄξιον δοκεῖ;

Rendall removes the note of interrogation after *ἐπιζητεῖς* and so gets a better general sense, 'why hanker for continuous (continued?) existence?' though then *τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι*, etc. seem to have no proper construction and *ἄλλα* no meaning. For *ἄλλα* we should, I think, read *ἄρα*, which is sometimes confused with it: for the rest one would expect something like *<ἐν> τῷ διαγίνεσθαι*, or *τῷ δ. without ἐν*: *τί ἐπιζητεῖς τῷ διαγίνεσθαι*; *ἄρα τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι, τὸ ὄρμαν, τὸ αἴξεσθαι*;

HERBERT RICHARDS.

PROHIBITIONS IN GREEK.

THE fascinating theory advanced by Mr. Headlam in the *C.R.* of July 1903, vol. xvii. p. 295, and approved by Dr. Jackson in the *C.R.* for June 1904, vol. xviii. p. 262, must have attracted the attention of all scholars.

I chanced recently, for other purposes, to run through the Greek Tragedians, and I kept my eyes open for cases which might prove the truth or falsity of this distinction between *μὴ ποιεῖ* and *μὴ ποιήσῃς*. It was an interesting investigation: very often I was convinced that the distinction was just; often again I was equally con-

vinced that the verdict must be 'non liquet.' I have ended by feeling that, while the alleged distinction exists, it is only one of many others possible.

'The current notions about this important piece of grammar' are not, I admit, satisfactory. But the question has received more attention than perhaps any in Greek Syntax, cp. Blass *Rhein. Mus.* 44 (1889), p. 406, Gerth, Kühner § 389, 6 c, Donovan, *C.R.* (1895), p. 145 ff., and Miller, *A.J.P.* 13 (1892), p. 424. The last, as Forman points out (*Plato Selections*, Append. p. 424), after examination of imperatives

in the Attic Orators, refuses to differentiate.

Mr. Headlam does not engage to help us in distinguishing *ποίει* from *ποιόσον*, and *prima facie* it is remarkable that the Greeks should have always retained so neat a distinction in the case of prohibitions only. It would seem equally important that a hearer should at once understand whether by the words 'do this' you mean 'go on doing' or 'do what you have not begun'; and yet, in view of the frequent '*παῦε παῦε*', it is obvious that the Greeks kept up no such distinction in the Imperative *invariably*.

Before I discuss this theory of prohibitions I should like to emphasise the necessity of recognising a 'conative' imperative. If we grant the conative meaning, then *παῦε* will signify 'be for ceasing' and is merely less peremptory than *παῦσον*. Similarly *ἔκβανε*, quoted by Mr. Donovan from Aesch. *Ag.* 906, is more fitting on the lips of an admiring wife to her victorious husband than would be the curt '*ἔκβηθι*'. In fact the present imperative is often more persuasive than the aorist, and we are not surprised to find Nicias saying *ἔπιψήφιζε* to a reluctant chairman rather than *ἔπιψήφισον*.

Citations such as Soph. *El.* 395, which Mr. Headlam regards as conclusive, may equally well be explained by the conative method. Here *μή μ' ἔκδιδασκε* can mean 'don't be for teaching me'; and the rejoinder *ἀλλ' οὐ διδάσκω* 'but I am not trying to' is sufficiently intelligible.

The followers of Hermann will certainly be compelled to admit the 'conative' sense in such passages as Plato, *Apol.* 17. 308 *ἢ ἀφίετε ἢ μὴ ἀφίετε*. If *μὴ ἀφίετε* is to mean 'cease acquitting,' the real force can only be 'cease being for acquittal,' since the verdict has not yet been given.

This use is, of necessity, common with such words as *κτείνω* and *θνήσκω*, cp. Eur. *Rhes.* 869

HN. ὁ γάμα πατρίς, πῶς ἀν ἐνθάνοιμι σοι.
EK. μὴ θνῆσχ'. ἀλις γὰρ τῶν τεθηκότων
οὐλος.

Here *μὴ θνῆσχ'* can fitly mean 'cease being for dying' after the wish *πῶς ἀν ἐνθάνοιμι*, but it is by no means essential that it should express more than 'do not be for dying.'

The same may be said of Eur. *Or.* 659 'Ερμιόνην μὴ κτείνε σύ (ib. 1027 is different: the 'killing' is metaphorical, cp. *Phoen.* 1620) and ib. 1075 *μὴ ξύνθησκε μοι* and

Eur. *Elect.* 850 *ἀλλὰ μή με κτείνετε*. On the other hand in a situation precisely similar, viz. *Bacch.* 1120 Pentheus cries:

οἴκτηρε δ' ὁ μῆτέρ με, μηδὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς
ἀμαρτίασι παῖδα σὸν κατακτάγεις.

Compare *Iph. Aul.* 1207 and Soph. *Ant.* 546. Of the latter I shall speak presently.

Mr. Headlam argues that *μὴ ποιήσῃς* must mean 'do not do something not begun' because the aorist subjunctive 'is close to the future in form.' But it may be urged in reply that all imperatives or prohibitions refer in sense to the future. 'Do not come' whether it mean 'stop coming' or 'never come in the future' still looks to an action (the not-coming) which lies in the future; and we need not be surprised that a tense and mood should be used which so often has a future signification, nor that *μὴ ποιήσῃς* 'always refers, more or less, to future time.' In just the same way Latin has its jussive subjunctive present and future indicative closely allied both in form and meaning.

But Mr. Headlam may fairly claim that his theory is confirmed by the survival of the subjunctive in prohibitions which are doubly future, i.e. where the not-doing is, as usual, future and also still more future because not even begun. But we are still left to wonder why no future imperative came into existence, if the distinction was felt to be essential in the case of prohibitions.

However a few hard facts are worth pages of theory, and I venture to propound the following riddles which seem to defy solution.

First Eur. *Androm.* 87

AN. ὄρας; ἀπανδᾶς ἐν κακοῖς φίλουσι σοῖς.
ΘΕΡ. οὐ δῆτα μηδὲν τοῦτο ὄνειδίσγει ἐμοὶ.

Surely with *τοῦτο* inserted this must of necessity, according to Mr. Headlam's canon, be *μηδὲν τοῦτο ὄνειδίσει*, i.e. do not throw this word 'desertion' in my teeth as you are doing.

Even more awkward is *Hecuba* 1180. Polymestor concludes his tirade against women-kind with:

ἀπαντα ταῦτα συντεμὰν ἐγὼ φράσω.
γένος γὰρ οὐτε πόντος οὐτε γῆ τρέφει
τοιόνδ'. δ' δὲ ξυντυχὼν ἐπίσταται.

To this the Chorus replies:

μηδὲν θρασύνομ, μηδὲ ταῖς σαντοῦ κακοῖς
τὸ θῆλυ συνθεὶς ὥδε πᾶν μέμψῃ γένος.

Mr. Headlam's theory is unharmed by *θρασύνον*, but what are we to say of *ώδε* (=as you are doing) and *πάν μέμψη γένος*—words which obviously refer to Polymestor's *συντερών*? Here again we ought to have the present imperative—*πάν μέμψον γένος*, which would—and this is important—have satisfied metrical requirements.

Take again Eur. *Helen* 1259. It is better to quote the whole context, i.e. ll. 1255–1259. Menelaus and Theoclymenus are the interlocutors.

ME. προσφάζεται μὲν αἷμα πρῶτα νερτέροις.
OE. τίνος; σὺ μοι σήμανε, πείσομαι δ' ἔγώ.
ME. αὐτὸς σὺν γίγνωσκ'. ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἦν διδῷς.
OE. ἐν βαρβάροις μὲν ἵππον ἡ ταύρον νόμος.
ME. διδούς γε μὲν δὴ διστηγεῖς μηδὲν διδοῦν.

Is there any shadow of reason for assuming that *μηδὲν διδοῦν* means 'do not offer as you are doing'?

Let me next cite cases where only improbable suppositions will serve to bring things into harmony with the new canon, e.g. Aesch. *P.U.* 807 Τούτοις σὺ μὴ πέλαζε. This ought to mean 'cease going near these,' but unfortunately Prometheus is speaking as a prophet. He warns Io not to approach the Arimaspis; and the words above quoted are immediately followed by τηλουρόν δὲ γῆν ηξεις κ.τ.λ. The future here is to be observed: it completely¹ does away with the plea that Prometheus is 'rapt'; that, as it were, he cries 'Not there! Not there!' when, in imagination, he sees Io stepping into danger. Moreover the spirit of the whole passage is against this: it is rather a geographical description, comparatively emotionless. This time the conative sense will not save the situation for Mr. Headlam. It may do so in Eur. *Helen* 1427 where Theoclymenus asks: βούλει ξινεργὸν αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψω στόλον; and Helen replies: ἥκιστα. μὴ δούλευε σοὶς δούλοις, ἀνάξ, i.e. cease being for playing the slave to your own servants. But 'do not be for playing the slave' yields an equally good sense. Next consider Eur. *Aleest.* 690

μὴ θηῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὐδὲ ἔγώ πρὸ σοῦ.

Pheres is speaking, and unless we assume a bitter irony, e.g. 'Pray do not go on dying (or 'be dying') for me, as of course you are,' we must admit that *μὴ θηῆσθαι* looks to some future occasion. Certainly we should supply *ἀποθανόμαι* or the equivalent of a future with *ἔγω*.

¹ Compare however *Agam.* 126 ἀγρεῖ and 130 λαπάξει.

A frequent difficulty is seen in Aesch. *P.U.* 683

εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὃ τι
λοιπὸν πόνων σήμανε· μηδέ μ' οἰκτίσας
ξύνθαλπε μύθοις ψευδέστων

There is nothing in what Prometheus has said previously which can be called *ψευδής*, but supposing that *μὴ ξύνθαλπε* does mean 'cease soothing me,' it must have jarred on the ear if *σήμανε* looked forward and *μὴ ξύνθαλπε* backward—at least in part of its meaning. Compare Eur. *Hec.* 385

τήνδε μὲν μὴ κτείνετε,
ἥμᾶς δ' ἄγοτες πρὸς πυράν Αχιλλέως
κεντεῖτε, μὴ φειδεύετε.

Assuming the truth of Mr. Headlam's dictum we here have *κεντεῖτε*—present looking to a future act—lying between two negated presents which are supposed to mean 'cease killing,' 'cease sparing.'

In the *Medea* two passages are troublesome:

(1) l. 61. The Paedagogus speaks:—
ὦ μάρος, εἰ χρὴ δεσπότας εἰπεῖν τόδε·
ὦς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τῶν νεωτέρων κακῶν.

To which the Nurse promptly replies:

τι δ' ζεταῖ, ὃ γεραίε; μὴ φύοντε φράσαι.

It can hardly be urged that the Paedagogus is already 'grudging to tell' his story.

(2) l. 90

οὐδὲ δ' ὡς μάλιστα τούσδ' ἐρημώσας ἔχει,
καὶ μὴ πέλαζε μητρὶ δισθημονμένη.

In l. 96 Medea is heard behind the scenes, and in l. 98 the nurse continues:—

τόδ' ἔκεινο, φίλοι παῖδες· μήτηρ
κινεῖ κραδίαν, κινεῖ δὲ χόλον.
σπεύσατε θάσον δώματος εἰσοι.
καὶ μὴ πελάσητε ὅμματας ἔγγυς,
μηδὲ προσέλθητε ἀλλὰ φιλάσσεσθ' κ.τ.λ.

Thus according to Mr. Headlam in l. 90 *ἔχει*, though looking to an act in the future, is immediately followed by *μὴ πέλαζε* which has to mean 'cease going near,' while in ll. 101 and 102 *μὴ πελάσητε* and *προσέλθητε*, as well as *φιλάσσεσθε* (present), refer to acts in the future. But here *μὴ πέλαζε* may well be explained by 'don't be for going near,' in contrast with the peremptory *μὴ πελάσητε*, where there is immediate danger of collision with Medea.

Difficult too is *Phoenissae* l. 1072. Jocasta speaks to the messenger:

ὦ φίλατα', η που ἔν μοι φορὰν ἔκεις φέρων,
Ἐτεοκλέους θανόντος,
τέθηρκεν η ζῆ παῖς ἐμός; σῆμανέ μοι.

To which the messenger replies :

Ζῆ, μὴ τρέσης τοδ', ὡς σ' ἀπαλλάξω φίβον.

The context would seem to demand φοβοῦ. Did the φόβον at the end of the line cause the choice of τρέσης? More than once, e.g. *Heracleidae* 248, 500, 654, μὴ τρέσης occurs where, to say the least of it, μὴ φοβοῦ might be expected, but will not scan.

The main difficulty in an investigation of this nature is that so large a percentage of instances readily admits of either meaning —either ‘cease doing’ or ‘don’t do something not begun.’ Thus it is tantalising to find μηκέτι with the present imperative in Soph. *Elect.* 1426, and 1474, in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 624, *Ion* 257; but aorist subjunctive in Soph. *Trach.* 1205, *O.T.* 975, *Elect.* 324, 963, 1225; and Eur. *Heracl.* 500, and *I.A.* 1207. Apparently with very slight difference the poet may write μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε (Aesch. *Suppl.* 748) or σχέσ, μὴ με πρόλειπης (Eur. *I.A.* 1467); and μὴ λέγε (don’t say such a thing!) in Eur. *Ion* 341, or μὴ λέξης in *Heracl.* 548. The distinction can hardly be as great as the new canon demands; and it seems simpler to treat μὴ πρόλειπε, μὴ λέγε as conative and persuasive; μὴ λέξης and μὴ πρόλειπης as curt or excited.

On the other hand, though μηκέτι is found with both constructions, I have observed no instance (in Iambics) of μὴ πέρα with the present imperative: all are combined with the aorist subjunctive, viz. Soph. *Philoct.* 332 οἷμοι, φράσης μοι μὴ πέρα, πρὶν ἀν μάθω, and 1275 παῦε, μὴ λέξης πέρα, and Eur. *I.T.* 554 παῦσαι ννν ἥδη, μηδὲ ἐρωτήσης πέρα.

The same is true of μήποτε, e.g. Soph. *Elect.* 383

πρὸς τὰῦτα φράζον καὶ με μήποθ' ὕστερον
μέμψῃ.

and Eur. *I.T.* 706

καὶ μὴ προδῷς μον τὴν καστιγνήτην ποτέ.

In the case of μήπω there may be a difference between Soph. *O.T.* 740 μήπω μ' ἐρότα ‘ask me not yet as you are doing’ (it might perfectly well mean ‘don’t be for asking yet’) and Eur. *Ion* 766-770

KP. αἰαῖ, αἰαῖ
διανταῖος ἔτυπεν ὁδύνα με πνευμόνων τῶνδ'
ἔσω.

ΠΑ. μήπω στενάξης, KP. ἀλλὰ πάρειτι γόοι.
ΠΑ. πρὶν ἀν μάθωμεν . . .

Here the Paedagogus says ‘Don’t cry—’, Creusa interrupts with ‘But I am crying’ and the Paedagogus finishes his sentence ‘before we learn.’ The futurity of μήπω στενάξης is made clear by πρὶν ἀν μάθωμεν (as in Soph. *Phil.* 332 quoted above) and on Mr. Headlam’s theory στέναξε would be somewhat harsh. Still I should be better satisfied if στέναξε would have scanned.

On the other hand in Soph. *Ant.* 546

μὴ μοι θάργησ σὺ κοινά, μηδὲ μὴ θίγες
ποιοῦ στεατῆς

there is real point in the change from θάργησ (future action) to ποιοῦ (cease claiming) and Mr. Headlam’s canon is well illustrated. We may say the same of Aesch. *Eum.* 800

ἱμεῖς δὲ μὴ θυμοῦσθε, μηδὲ τῆρες γῆ
βαρὺν κότον σκήψητε, μηδὲ ἀκαρπίαν
τεύξητε,

but in Aesch. *Agam.* 919

καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γννακὸς ἐν τρόποις ἔμε
ἄβρυτε, μηδὲ βαρβάρον φωτὸς δίκην
χαματπέτες βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
μηδὲ εὔρασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει.

the changes ἄβρυτε . . . προσχάνης . . . τίθει seem to have little or no purpose, any more than in *Eum.* 74 ὅμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένη . . . followed in 78 by καὶ μὴ πρόκαμψε, and it is significant that no change could be made in any of the above without ruining the metre.

But in any case we must be grateful to Mr. Headlam for reminding us of the ambiguity involved in ‘Don’t do’; for there are many cases where his distinction is of importance, even granting that μὴ ποτέ and μὴ ποιήσης were as ambiguous as is our own imperative. There is an instance, viz. Soph. *Philoct.* 574

ἄν λέγης δὲ μὴ φώνει μέγα

where Mr. Headlam’s view seems to improve the sense. The prohibition μὴ φώνει is usually taken as referring to φράσον τίς ἔστιν, i.e. tell me who he is but whisper the name. One would rather expect ἄν εἴπης not λέγης, and it appears better to make μὴ φώνει look back to the whole conversation, i.e. don’t speak so loudly every word you say, as you have been doing.

Conversely in *O.C.* 1159, Theseus says : τί δὲ ἔστι σοι; Oedipus answers: μὴ μον δεηθῆς. To which Theseus replies: πράγματος ποίον; λέγε. The use of μὴ + aorist subjunctive is effective. Instead of saying

'cease asking me,' Oedipus, in deep emotion, is half-deaf to the question. Just as we say 'Don't ask me!' when we do not wish to hear something asked which is unwelcome to us. Thus Theseus' rejoinder 'don't ask you what?' gains in point.

Dr. Jackson has referred to Plato's *Apol.* 20 E. and 21 A. At first blush this passage was most convincing and I was for accepting Mr. Headlam's conclusion in every case. But even here $\mu\bar{n}$ $\theta\bar{o}\rho\nu\beta\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{e}$ need not mean more than 'don't be for making a clamour.' The difference may be rather one of tone than of meaning, and a certain harshness in $\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{\lambda}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{w}\bar{o}$ is avoided.

To sum up then: the distinction drawn by Hermann undoubtedly occurs, but it is not the only distinction. The present tense may, of course, imply an action still con-

tinued, e.g. $\pi\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ may equal 'he goes on doing it.' Therefore $\mu\bar{n}$ $\pi\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ may, on occasion, signify, 'do not go on doing it,' i.e. 'cease doing it.' But we must not bind ourselves to one meaning of the present stem. 'I have shown that $\mu\bar{n}$ $\pi\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ can also mean 'don't be for doing it' and that, in this sense, it need not refer to an act already begun.'

Conversely there seem to be undoubted instances where $\mu\bar{n}$ $\pi\bar{o}\bar{e}\bar{e}\bar{r}\bar{y}\bar{s}$ does imply 'cease doing.'

Lastly the conative meaning explains equally well (sometimes better) passages which are regarded by Mr. Headlam as conclusively in his favour.

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GREEK PROHIBITIONS.

THE distinction discussed by Mr. Naylor, and so little known, ought to be called Hermann's. How I came by it I have mentioned; but I find that Hermann's tract which I lit upon by chance in Koen's *Greg. Cor.* p. 864 was printed afterwards in his *Opuscula*, i. p. 269. The statement is clear enough, as the following paragraphs will show:

Quamquam nuper, certe inter praesens atque aoristum, Buttmannus aliquid discriminis statuit. Nam quum ego in censura grammaticae ab ipso editae Graecos ostendissem imperativum praesentis de eo quod aliquam diu duraret, aoristi de eo quod cito perficeretur, usurpare, probavit ille hanc distinctionem in quarta quintaque editione, sed, quod factum nolle, sic simpliciter etiam ad vetandi formulas transtulit.¹ Nam sane quidem $\mu\bar{n}$ $\beta\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{e}$ dicendum erit, quum vetabis aliquem crebris ictibus ferire; $\mu\bar{n}$ $\beta\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{y}\bar{s}$ autem, quum uno ictu: sed est in hoc genere etiam aliud discriminem, quum qui vetat aut iubeat aliquem ab eo quod facit abstinere, aut moneat ne faciat quod velle facere videatur. Ac non potest obscurum esse utra vetandi formula utri rei conveniat. Quod apud Sophoclem est in Aiae 1150 $\bar{a}\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{e}$, $\mu\bar{n}$ $\delta\bar{r}\bar{a}$ $\tau\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{s}$ $\tau\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{g}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{a}$ $\kappa\bar{a}\bar{k}\bar{w}\bar{o}$, sic est dictum ut significetur *desine mortuos iniuria afficere*. Si dixisset $\bar{a}\bar{\nu}\bar{\theta}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{e}$, $\tau\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{s}$ $\theta\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{a}$ $\mu\bar{n}$

$\delta\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{s}$ $\kappa\bar{a}\bar{k}\bar{w}\bar{o}$, moneretur Menelaus ne vellet iniquus in Aiacem esse.

Then, after collecting examples from Homer:

Praevideo quidem fore qui exempla quae utramque interpretationem confirment nihil probare dicant. His respondeo, primum, quae propria sit imperativi praesentis significatio ex maiore tamen numero exemplorum colligi: ideoque exemplis usus sum unius scriptoris, et quidem eius quem ceteri fere sequi solent; deinde quoniam, sive omissione sive non incepito imperetur, futurum tempus respicitur, fieri non potuisse quin tam exiguum discrimen saepe negligeretur.

And his conclusion is:

Iam igitur sic erit de omni ista vetandi ratione statutum: $\mu\bar{n}$ cum imperativo praesentis proprie de omittendo eo quod quis iam faciat intelligi, sed saepius tamen etiam ad ea trahi quae quis nondum facere aggressus sit; aoristi autem imperativum tantummodo de non inciendo usurpari, in quo quidem genere coniunctivum aoristi Graecos praetulisse; idque Atticis maxime, ut dubitantis loqui amantibus, ita placuisse ut apud hos raris-ime imperativus aoristi inventiatur (such as $\mu\bar{n}$ $\psi\bar{e}\bar{o}\bar{t}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{o}$).

Ellendt *Lex. Sophoc.* s.v. $\mu\bar{n}$ p. 442^b says Quorum modorum qua ratione significatus

¹ As Mr. Naylor is disposed to do.

differat, aperuit Herm. p. 269 opusc. vol. i, expli-uit Frank. copiose diss. de partic. negant. p. 28 *sqq.* idemque, etiam si secus videatur, haud facile discrimen negligi docuit.

The latter I have not yet seen.

Mr. Naylor has collected from Tragedy the examples which appear to him to be in conflict with this canon. But he has not stated the number of examples where no objection to it can be found. Now the occurrences of *μή* prohibitive in Aeschylus and Sophocles are catalogued in the lexicons of Dindorf and Ellendt, and can readily be tested. In the complete plays the number of prohibitions in the second person is

	pres. imper.	aor. subj.
Aeschylus 43	39
Sophocles 59	69

altogether 210 in 14 plays. If we allow the same proportion to the 18 plays of Euripides, the total number in the complete plays of the Tragedians will be 480. Among so many it is not surprising that there should be some real or seeming abnormalities; but if among so many the refractory cases discoverable are so few, might they not almost be looked upon as those exceptions which, according to the proverb, prove a rule?

Since I was made aware of this distinction I have chanced to read not only Tragedy but almost the whole of Greek literature; and the result of that reiterated impression has been to assure me absolutely that the distinction is true in the vast majority of cases; and I do not see how any one who will go through the examples even in one author consecutively can doubt that the distinction holds in usage. But he must not concentrate solely upon a collection of abnormal cases, or his view will be distorted. That is why it is a mistake to teach Greek out of grammars, because inevitably they give far more prominence to abnormalities than to the rule itself. Some one might do worse than make a systematic table of the examples in authors containing the most dialogue, as the Tragic and Comic Dramatists, Homer, Plato, Xenophon and Lucian: the mechanical labour would not be great, and I have seen many a dissertation in which the result was not more useful. Only he should on no account omit to state the number, with the references, of those cases where the distinction holds.

Where it holds in usage, whatever the

origin may be; because for understanding the effect of literature it is the usage, not its origin, that matters. Mr. Naylor may be quite right in claiming a 'conative' sense for the present imperative, negative as well as positive, but for my purpose it appears to me to matter very little. He would explain the cases cited of *μή κτείνε* (it makes no difference whether they are metaphorical or not), *μή θυγάτης* as 'do not be for killing' or 'dying': very possibly; but in usage they imply 'do not seek as you are doing,' 'abandon your intention,' *desine velle mori*.

Of course his theory might account for cases where *μή* with the present does not refer to what is being done already.

It is no doubt true, and must be remembered, that often it matters very little whether you say *μή ποιήσης* 'take care you don't do so' or *μή ποίει*: but the appropriate distinction is observed, *ώς έπος εἰπεῖν*, always, I believe, when it is necessary to the meaning. My statement of it was made for the sake of dealing with two passages, in a paper where I had many other things to say and no room to mention even the qualifications that were in my mind; and there are still cases which I am not prepared at present to account for by more than tentative explanations. And the rule itself was somewhat clumsily expressed. It will be more safely stated thus:

When the meaning is *Do not as you are doing, Do not continue doing so*, and this meaning is to be conveyed by the verb alone and unassisted, then *μή* must be followed by the present imperative.

When the meaning is *Beware of doing this in future time*, and this meaning is to be conveyed by the verb alone, then *μή* must be followed by the aorist subjunctive.

I do not say that *μή ποίει* or *μή λέγει* always mean *Do not thus any longer*; but that to express that meaning by the verb alone you must use *μή ποίει* or *μή λέγει*: though the same meaning may be conveyed by *μή δράσης ἔτι* or *μή εἴπης πέρα*.

But *μή εἴπης* or *μή δράσης* always, I believe, mean *I warn you against doing this, I beseech you will not*; though this is sometimes used when the thing is being done; notably in certain cases which may be called colloquial or idiomatic, with an effect of impatience, *μή φροντίσης* *Oh, never mind!* *μή δείσης* *Never fear!* *μή θαυμάσης* *You mustn't be surprised.*

To illustrate this I will first take cases where the prohibition elicits the retort 'I am not doing so':

Theocr. x. 20 (in answer to a mock)

BOY. . . μηδὲν μέγα μυθεῦν
(v.l. μὴ δὴ μ. μ. 'so don't boast')
ΜΙΛ. οὐ μέγα μυθεῦμα.

Theocr. v. 30

ΚΟΜ. . . τινὸς ὁ τράγος οὐτος· ἔρισθε.
ΛΑΚ. μὴ σπεῖδε . . .
ΚΟΜ. ἀλλ' οὐ τι σπεῦδω.

Soph. El. 394

ΧΡ. ἀλλ' οὐτος ἀν, εἰ σύ γ' εὖ φρονεῖς ἡπίστασο.
ΗΛ. μὴ μ' ἐκδιᾶσκε τοῖς φίλοις εἴναι κακήν.
ΧΡ. ἀλλ' οὐ διδάσκω τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ' εἰκαθεῖν.

There is no case known to me where such a rejoinder is elicited by *μή* with the aorist subjunctive: and until such case can be produced I shall believe the reason to be that only *μή* with the present imperative could elicit it; the response to *μὴ διδάξῃς* would have been *οὐ διδάξω*: Plat. *Protag.* 320c 'μὴ φθονήσῃς ἀλλ' ἐπιδειξον.' 'ἀλλ' οὐ φθονήσω.' 'I hope you won't.' 'Well, I will not.' In Eur. *fr.* 136

ἀλλ' ὁ θεῶν τίραννε κάνθρώπων Ἐρως,
ἢ μὴ διδάσκε τὰ καλὰ φάνετοι καλά,
ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν, ὃν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ
μοχθοῦσι μόχθους, εἰτικῶς συνεκπόνει

it was essential that the meaning should be 'Either give up teaching what you do teach, or else lend aid to those who suffer from your work!' There is nothing to convey that but the verb alone; and we have the pres. imperative: because *μὴ διδάξῃς* would have meant 'I pray you will not.'

The other examples that I find of *μὴ διδάσκε* are O.C. 654 ΟΙ. ὅρα με λείπων—ΘΗ. μὴ διδασκάλον ἀ χρή με δρᾶν. O.T. 1370 ὡς μὲν . . . μὴ μ' ἐκδιᾶσκε μηδὲ σημβούλευε ἔτι. El. 1289 καὶ μήτε μήτηρ ὡς κακὴ διδάσκε με. Ar. *Ran.* 830, *Av.* 1436 μὴ νονθέτει. Plaut. *Pers.* 656 *ne doce*. All these mean 'You need not teach me thus.'

In *Tro.* 460 χαρέ μοι, μῆτερ, δακρύσῃς μηδέν is 'I pray you will not weep': but 'do not weep so,' 'dry your tears' is *μὴ κλαῖε*, Ar. *fr.* 135, *Babr.* 78. 2, *A.P.* v. 43 ἔκμαξαι, *μὴ κλαῖε*, Plaut. *ne fle*. *Pers.* 656 *ne sis flora*. Ter. *Heaut.* 84 *ne lacrima*, *ne retice*, *ne verere*. *Ajax* 579 *μηδὲ δάκρυε*.

Here are the examples in Aristophanes of *μὴ ποίει* and *μὴ ποιήσῃς*: *Pax*, 979 νῆ Δία,
καὶ μὴ ποίει γ' ἄπει αὖ . . . κάκεναι γάρ . . .
τούτων σὺ ποίει μηδὲν ἔθ' ἡμᾶς. It is evident that here the meaning is 'do so no more.' Now the aor. subj.: *Av.* 133 καὶ μηδαμῶς

ἄλλως ποιήσῃς· εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ μοι τότε γ' ἔλθης,
ὅταν ἔγω πράττω κακῶς. Here it is equally evident that the meaning is 'take care you don't.' And in *Ecccl.* 562 μηδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν
θεῶν τοντὶ ποιήσῃς, μηδὲ ἀφέλγη μοι τὸν βίον.
'I pray you will not.' And in *Ran.* 7-16
'έκειν' ὅπως μὴ 'ρεῖς . . .' 'τί δῆτ' ἔδει με . . .
εἴτε ποιήσω μηδὲν . . .; 'μὴ νῦν ποιήσῃς.'
'I won't have you do it,' 'Mind you don't.'
—*μὴ ποίει* is the normal answer to *ποιῶ*, as
Hdt. 3. 140 'ἀνθ' ὅν τοι χρωστὸν δίδωμι.' 'ἔμοι
μήτε χρωστὸν δίδωμι . . .' Lucian i. 747 'ώς
ἔγωγε καὶ πάντας ὄκνω.' 'ἀλλὰ μὴ ὄκνει.' Plat.
Ker. 450D 'όκνος τις αὐτῶν ἀπτεσθανεῖ' 'μηδὲν
ὄκνει.' But *μὴ ποιήσῃς* to *ποιήσω*: *Lys.*
1036 'καὶ φιλήσω.' 'μὴ φιλήσῃς.' So in
Lucian's *Timon* i. p. 146 ἔγω γάρ ὑμᾶς αἰτία
βάλλων τοῖς λίθοις συντρίψω. EPM. μηδαμῶς,
ὦ Τίμων, μὴ βάλλης. Whereas p. 175 ὡστε
τί οὐ λίθους ἔγκυφοροίσας ἐπιχαλαζῶ πόρρωθεν
αὐτούς; ΒΑΕ. μὴ βάλλε, ὦ Τίμων, ἀπικεν γάρ.
TIM. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναιμοτί γε ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ἄνεν
τραυμάτων he is already executing his intention.

Next I will quote places where something that a person is about to say is prevented by the other interrupting him with *Do not say*, *Beware of saying*:

Plat. *Gorg.* 321B ΚΑΛ. ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γε
ποιήσεις—ΣΩ. μὴ εἴπεις ὁ πολλάκις ἔφρηκας, ὅτι
ἀποκτενεῖ μὲν ὁ βούλομενος.

Achill. *Tat.* viii. 6 'εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἵστε
οἴα εἴκος ἐν τοσαύταις αἰτήν ἐπιβουλαῖς γενο-
μένην ἀκούσαν—' καὶ εἰδός ὡς Λευκίππη, πρὸν
τὸν ιέρα εἰτέν τὸν ἔχης λόγον, 'μηδὲ εἴπεις
ἔγω γάρ ἔτοιμη εἰς τὸ τῆς σύριγγος σπιθαλον
εἰσελθεῖν καὶ χωρὶς προκλήσεως κατακελεῖσθαι.'

Lucian iii. 530 ΜΩΜ. ἀκούσατε δὲ οὐν καὶ
ἄλλους. ΖΕΥΣ. μηδέν, ὦ Μῶμε, εἴπεις μήτε
περὶ Ασκληπιοῦ μήτε περὶ Ἡρακλέους ὅρῳ γάρ οἱ
φέργη τῷ λόγῳ, οὗτοι γάρ, ὃ μὲν αὐτῶν
ιάτα . . . δὲ ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς οὐκ ὀλίγων πόνων
ἐπριάτο τὴν ἀβανασίαν ὥστε μὴ κατηργούει
αὐτῶν 'so drop your charge against them.'

ib. 532 ΜΩΜ. ὥστε ταῦτα μὲν ἔσται μοι
δοκῶ μακρὸν γάρ ἀν τὸ διελέγχειν γένοιτο.
ΖΕΥΣ. (forestalling him in anticipation)
μηδέν περὶ τοῦ Γανυμήδους, ὦ Μῶμε, εἴπεις
χαλεπανό γάρ εἰ λυπήσεις τὸ μειράκιον ὀνειδίσας
εἰς τὸ γένος 'I warn you not to say anything;
μὴ μοι γε λέγειν γνώμας μεγάλας, literally 'No,
please no speaking!'

¹ In *Ecccl.* 1064 Ν. καθαστήσω. Γ. μὴ μοι καθίστη
the pres. imper. is used because it was established
with the phrase *μὴ μοι* (equivalent in effect to 'But
me no buts!'). In *Nub.* 432 we have the pres. inf.,
μὴ μοι γε λέγειν γνώμας μεγάλας, literally 'No,
please no speaking!'

Soph. *Aj.* 384

ΑΙ. ἴδοιμι μήν νιν, καίπερ ὁδὸς ἀτώμενος,
ἴω μοι μοι
ΧΟ. μηδὲν μέγ' εἴπεις οὐχ ὅρπες ἵν' εἰς κακοῦ;

Ajax' prayer is incomplete in any case, whether what he would have said is 'But only let me see him, although I am so marred,—and I will slay him' or 'But let me see him dying at my hands!' as they so often said ἴδοιμι (or ἐπίδοιμι) τινα κακόν τι (or ἀγαθόν τι) πάσχοντα. It is to warn him, I think, against completing it that they say, 'Take care you do not boast.'

μηδὲν μέγ' ἀδύτης in Soph. *El.* 831 is not, as I said it was, an interruption, but it is a warning :

ΧΟ. ὁ παῖ, τί δακρύεις;

ΗΔ. φεῦ.

ΧΟ. μηδὲν μέγ' ἀδύτης—

ΗΔ. ἀπολεῖς.

ΧΟ. πῶς;

ΗΔ. εἰ τῶν φανερῶν οἰχομένων εἰς Ἀίδανον
ἔλπιδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάσεις.

Electra sees that they are going to suggest some ground of hope, and she anticipates it from their phrase; they mean μήτω μέγ' ἀπῆς (Plat. *Sophist.* 238 A), and were about to add πρὶν 'before you are assured of the event'¹; as in Soph. *Jr.* 601 μηδὲν μέγ' εἴπεις πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἤδη.—The aor. subj. is natural and usual in such cases; e.g. Eur. *Ion* 768 μήτω στενάξεις . . . πρὶν ἀν μάθωμεν (where Mr. Naylor unnecessarily desiderates the present), Hes. *Op.* μηδὲ δίκην δικάγεις πρὶν ἀν ἀμφοῖν μῆθον ἀκούσης, Lucian i. 261, 266, 458 (to be quoted later). Though you could use the pres. imper. in checking an action that has been begun already: *Pax* 82 ηὔχος ηὔχος, ηὔμει, κανθων μή μοι σοβαρῶς χώρει λιαν εἰθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, πρὶν ἀν ἤδης καὶ διαιτήσης ἀρθρων ἵνας. *Vesp.* 919 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ προκαταγγείωσκ', ὁ πάτερ, πρὶν ἀν γ' ἀκούσης ἀμφοτέρων.

But 'Oh, don't boast so!' is ἀ μὴ μέγα λέγε: *Hipp. Maj.* 295 A III. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἰδ' ὅτι . . . ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὸν ἀν εἴποιμι τῆς πάσης ἀκριβείας. ΣΩ. ἀ μὴ μέγα, ὁ Ἰππία, λέγε. *Phaeudo* 95 B ὁ γαμέτης, μὴ μέγα λέγε. *Ran.* 835 ὁ δαμασκόνιον ἀνδρῶν, μὴ μεγάλα λιαν λέγε (used so in quotation by Lucian iii. 613). *Plut.* 127 ἀ μὴ λέγε', ὁ πονηρέ, ταῦτα. *Philoct.* 898 μὴ λέγε τάδε. *Ant.* 567 'ηδε' μὴ λέγε. *Ajax* 368 μὴ αὐδὰ τάδε. *Ion* 351 μὴ

λέγε. *Theocr.* xv. 11 μὴ λέγε τοιαῦτα. *Lucian* i. 275. παῦν παῦε, μὴ λέγε. *Vesp.* 637, *Pax* 648.

There is one class which an objector could not fail to quote against me, and from which Mr. Naylor has quoted one or two examples, as *Hec.* 1184 and *Agam.* 919. In this class there are two clauses or more, and the latter clauses vary the construction though you would expect them to continue with the same. But it is to be remarked that the tense is normal in the first clause; this, I take it, was considered sufficient to define the application to what is being done.

Examples are *Hec.* 1184 μηδὲν θραστίνον, μηδέ . . . πᾶν μέμψῃ γένος. *Agam.* 1463 μηδὲν θανάτου μοίραν ἐπεύχον, μηδὲ εἰς Ἐλένην κότον ἐκτρέψῃς. *Agam.* 909 καὶ τάλλα μή . . . ἐμὲ ἄβρυνε, μηδέ . . . προσχάντης ἐμοί, μηδέ . . . ἐπιφθονον πάνον τίθει. In *Eum.* 800 (quoted by Mr. Naylor in Weil's conjectural transposition of the words) the strict distinction may be argued for; and so it may be in the following: *Philoct.* 1400 καὶ μὴ βράδυνε, μηδὲ ἐπιμητήσῃς ἔτι Τροίας. *Nub.* 1478 μηδαμῶς θύμαν μοι, μηδέ μ' ἐπιτρίψῃς. *Eg.* 860 μὴ τοῦ λέγοντος ἴσθη, μηδὲ οὐρῆς ἐμοῦ φίλον βέλτιον εὑρεῖν. But they betray, I think, a tendency to lapse into the aor. subj.

In all cases it is most important, I consider, to observe whether the meaning has been defined by a previous clause. Thus in *Lysist.* 590 σίγα, μή μητικακήσῃς. *Nub.* 105 ἡ ἡ σιώπα μηδὲν εἴπεις νήπιον. 833 εὐστόμει, καὶ μηδὲν εἴπεις φλαγὸν ἄνδρας δεξιούς, the second clause is in the form of a general commandment. Mr. Naylor brings against me *P.V.* 833 τούτοις σὺ μὴ πελάξε, which of course does not refer to what is being done. It is among the last of a long series of injunctions for the future, and the hearer could not misinterpret it. But it might also be defended on the ground that this prophecy which Prometheus gives to Io is an oracle (in which we have the oracular οὐς φύλαξασθαί σε χρή 741, and γρῦπας φύλαξαι 830). Oracles by tradition had the nature of general commandments, in which usage permitted all three forms, μὴ κλέπτε, μὴ κλέψειν, μὴ κλέψῃς: and all three are found in this oracle delivered by Prometheus; 744 ὅν μὴ περάσῃς, 738 οὐς μὴ πελάξειν, and 833 τούτοις σὺ μὴ πελάξε.

Mr. Naylor finds an instance of my view in *Philoct.* 573 τόνδε μοι πρώτον φράσον τίς έστιν ἀν λέγης δὲ μὴ φώνει μέγα. I should rather call it a general instruction marked by ἀν λέγης: 'in whatever you say, let there be no loudness of tone.' So Eur. *Hel.* 1259 διδούς γε μὲν δὴ δυσγενές μηδὲν δίδον becomes a general instruction by the addition

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¹ Aesch. *Cho.* 772

ΤΡΟΦ. καὶ πῶς; 'Ορέστης ἐλπὶς οἰχεται δόμων.
ΧΟ. οὕτως κακός γε μάντις ἀν γνοῖ τάδε.

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of διδούς, equivalent to ὅσ' ἀν διδῷς or ὅταν διδῷς: 'When giving, however, let there be no meanness in the gift.' Compare *Theb.* 467 κόπτας ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μηδὲ μοι φθόνει λέγων, *Plat. Legg.* 811c λέγει καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόκνει λέγων. Or we might say that δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δῖδον is merely δῖδον μηδὲν δυσγενὲς, comparing *Ar. Eq.* 387 ἀλλ' ἐπιθεὶ καὶ στρόβει, μηδὲν δλίγον ποίει. But in all these cases the reference to the future could not be mistaken. Nor could it in *Theb.* 228 μῆν νῦν, ἀν θηῆσκοντας ἡ τετραμένους πίθησθε, κωντοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε, or in *Eq.* 580 ἥν ποτ' εἰρήνη γένηται καὶ πόνον πανσώμεθα, μῆν φθονεῖν' ἥμιν κομῶσι: in both these the reference to a future time has been sufficiently indicated by the previous clause.

The effect upon my mind of the reiterated impression I have spoken of it is impossible for me to impart to others; but meantime I have thought to try the experiment of taking from a few lively dialogues of Lucian, the Θεῶν διάλογοι, the Ἐνάλιοι, the Νεκρικοί, and the Μένιππος, all the cases of μῆν in prohibition with the second person and submitting them to the candid witness of the eye:

PRESENT IMPERATIVE.

i. 206 EP. εἰ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐπέραστος εἶναι, μῆ
ἐπίστει τὴν αἰγίδα, μηδὲ τὸν κεραυνὸν φέρε...
ZEYΣ. ἄταγε οὐκ ἀν δεξαίμην ἐπέραστος εἶναι
τοιοῦτος γενόμενος. EP. οὐκοῦν, ὁ Ζεῦ, μηδὲ
ἔραν θέλει.

211 θάρρει μόνον καὶ φαιδρὸς ἵσθι καὶ μηδὲν
ἐπιπόθει τῶν κάτω.

214 HPA. τῷ μαλακῷ τούτῳ Φρυγὶ οὔτως
ἐκτεθηλυμένῳ. ZEYΣ. μῆ μοι λοιδοροῦ, ὁ
γενναιοτάτη, τοῖς παιδικοῖς. So Achill. Tat.
ii. 25 μῆ λοιδορεῖ μου, μῆτερ, τὴν παρθενίαν.
Plat. Gorg. 467 in ΠΩΔ. σχέτλια λέγεις καὶ
ἰπερφῆν, ὁ Σώκρατες. ΣΩ. μῆ κατηγόρει, ὁ
λφοτε Πῶλε.

216 τί τοῦτο; δακρύεις; μῆ δέδιμι. So 258
ἀλλὰ τί τρέμεις καὶ ώχρις; μῆ δέδιμι. χαλεπὸν
γάρ οἰδέν. 548 Α, δέδια... Ε, μῆ δέδιμι.
Vesp. 373. *Ran.* 1109 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο καταφο-
βίσθον, μηδὲν ὄρρωδεῖτε τοῦτο. Of course
δέδια and κέκραγα were treated as a present
tense; so we have μῆ κέκραχθι i. 169, μῆ
κέκραγατ *Vesp.* 415, μῆ βοῶτε 336, 371, *Av.*
1504, *Ter. Phorm.* 664 ne clama.

227 μῆ ἐνόχλει, φημί 'Don't bother, I
say!' So i. 147 οὐδὲν ἥμων δέομαν μῆ
ἐνόχλεῖτε μοι. 425 μῆ ἐνόχλει οὖν 'Don't
bother, then.'

234 ΕΡΩΣ. καίτοι τί ἐγὼ ἀδικῶ δεικνὺς τὰ
καλὰ οὐλά ἔστιν; ὑμεῖς γε μὴν ἐφίεσθε τῶν καλῶν
μῆ τοινν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθε τούτων.

238 παύσασθε, φημί, καὶ μὴ ἐπιταράττετε
ἥμν τὴν συνονοσίαν. He has told them before
to stop their disturbance, p. 235.

240 ΑΙ. ἀρά σοι ἀλόγυς λελιπήσθαι δοκῶ;
ΕΡ. ναί, ὁ Ἀπόλλον γῆδες γὰρ θυητὸν πεποιη-
μένος τὸν ἐρώμενον ὥστε μὴ ἄχθου ἀπο-
θανόντος.

225 ΑΦΡ. ὄρας; οὐδὲν ἐγὼ μέμφομαι οὐδὲ
ἐγκαλῶ τὸ πρὸς ταῖτην ιδίᾳ λαλεῖν μεμψυμόρων
γὰρ καὶ οὐκ Ἀφροδίτης τὰ τοιάτα. This is in
the Judgment: Aphrodite says 'I am not
complaining at all of your talking to Athena
privately!' But of course the tone she
says it in shows that she is complaining;
so Paris answers, καὶ αὖτη σχέδον ταῦτα με
ἥρετο διὸ μὴ χαλεπός ἔχει μρᾶς οἷον μειονεκτέν,
εἴ τι καὶ ταῦτη κατὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἀτεκρινάμην.
So 278 ΗΑ. γηρατον, ὁ Ζεῦ ἀλλὰ μῆ χαλέπαινε.
Ran. 1020 λέξον, μηδὲ χαλέπαινε.

275 ΕΡ. ἔστι γάρ τις ὁ μῆτερ, ἐν οὐρανῷ
θεὸς ἀθλιώτερος ἔμοι; MAI. μῆ λέγε, ὁ Ερμῆ,
τοιούτον μηδὲν.

288 ΓΑΔ. (in reply to a jest) μὴ σκῶπτε,
Δωρί. So *Ran.* 58, *Nub.* 1267, *Eccles.* 1005,
1074.

295 ΑΔΦ. (in reply) ἐρωτικόν τι τὸ
πρᾶγμα ἔστιν, ὁ Πόστειδον, ὥστε μῆ ἔλεγχε.

316 στῆθι, ὁ νῆσε, καὶ ἀνάδυθι αὐθίς ἐκ τοῦ
βυθοῦ καὶ μηκέτι ὑποφέρου 'be no longer
submerged.'

335 ΔΙ. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοῖς σοῖς
ταῦτα, εἰ δοκεῖ, παρ' ἔμοι ἐπιτίμησον λέγων
ἐκλεινόσθαι αὐτούς. ΠΟΔ. μηδέν, ὁ Διόγενες,
περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων λέγει.

367 EPM. καὶ σὺ δέ, τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποθέμ-
ενος καὶ τὴν μαλακιὰν δὲ προσέτι, μηδὲ τὰ
ἐττάφια κόμιζε... μηδὲ ὅτι μέγαν τάφον ἐπί^{τη}
στοι ἔχωσαν λέγεις βαρύνει γάρ καὶ ταῦτα μη-
μονεύομενα. The point of this passage is
that the dead are to abandon what they
bring with them.

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.

i. 205 Prometheus warning Zeus: μηδέν,
ὁ Ζεῦ, κουνωνήσῃς τῇ Νηρῆδος. ἦν γάρ αὖτη
κυνοφόρηση ἐκ σοῦ, τὸ τεχθὲν ἵσα ἐργάσεται σε
οἰα καὶ σὺ ἔδρασας.

229 Hermes warning Helios: 'Ο Ήλιε,
μῆ ἐλάστης τήμερον, ὁ Ζεύς φησι, μηδὲ αὔριον
μηδὲ ἐς τρίτην ἥμέραν.

261 ΠΑΡ. ἀπόδονθι καὶ σύ, ὁ 'Αφροδίτη. ΑΘ. (interrupting to prevent it) μὴ πρότερον ἀποδύσῃς αὐτὴν, ὁ Πάρι, πρὶν ἀν τὸν κεστὸν ἀποθῆται.

458 ΜΕΝ. ἔδοξε δὴ τὸν πλουσίους τούτους καὶ τὸ χρυσίον κατάκλειστον φυλάττοντας—ΦΙΛ. (interrupting) μὴ πρότερον εἴπῃς, δηγαθέ, τὰ δεδογμένα, πρὶν ἐκένα διελθεῖν . . .

266 ΠΑΡ. . . πλὴν ἔρω γε ἥδη τῆς Ἐλένης . . . ΑΦ. μὴ πρότερον ἔρασθης, ὁ Πάρι, πρὶν ἔμε . . . ἀμειψαθαι. Here we might have had the present tense; but as I have already pointed out, the aorist is usual in warnings followed by πρὶν.

485 μηδαμῶς, ὁ πατέριον, ἀλλ' εἰπὲ καὶ μὴ περιδῆς με σοῦ τυφλότερον περιύόντα.

472 τίνες οὖτοι, πρὸς Διός; μὴ γὰρ ὀκνήσῃς καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν. 'I trust you will not hesitate.' So iii. 255 τίς αὐτὴ; μὴ γὰρ ὀκνήσῃς εἰπεῖν. ii. 631 ἐρήσομαι σε· σὺ δὲ μὴ ὀκνήσῃς ἀποκρίνασθαι.

458 Μ. ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις ἐκφέρειν αὐτά . . . Φ. μηδαμῶς, ὁ Μένιππε, πρὸς τὸν Διός, μὴ φθονήσῃς τῶν λόγων φίλων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς γὰρ εἰδότα σιωτῶν ἔρεις. 'I beg you will not grudge'; though he might have said μὴ φθόνει.

308 μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὁ Πόσειδον, εἰ τὸν ἀνθρώπους εὖ ποιοῦμεν . . .

457 ΦΙΛ. οὖτοι, ἀλλ' οὐ παραπαίεις; . . . ΜΕΝ. μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὁ ἔταιρε.

298 Μ. τοῦτο πάντα θαυμάζω καὶ ἀπιστῶ. Π. μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὁ Μενέλαος.

These three examples of μὴ θαυμάσῃς are abnormal, especially the last. The normal answer to θαυμάζω is *Plat. Symp.* 205 in 'θαυμάζω καὶ αὐτός.' 'ἀλλὰ μὴ θαυμάζε.' *Legg.* 637 c ἔρει θαυμάζοντι ξένῳ 'μὴ θαυμάζε, ὁ ξένος.' *Crito* 50 c εἰ οὐκ θαυμάζομεν, ισως ἀν εἴποιεν 'μὴ θαυμάζε.' But we find μὴ θαυμάσῃς in answer to a surprised exclamation in *Legg.* 804 b and no doubt elsewhere. It is a phrase belonging to a class of which I have already spoken as colloquial. Properly the meaning is 'You must not be surprised' or 'alarmed' or 'I beseech you will not': it is not difficult to see how such an expression might come to be used a little loosely much as we use 'Never fear!' and 'Never mind!' At any rate, besides μὴ νῦν τοντογί φροντίζετε *Nub.* 189 and μὴ φροντίζε μηδέν *Plut.* 215 we have μὴ φροντίζῃς *Philoc.* 1404, *Vesp.* 25, 228, 998, *Lys.* 915, *Thesm.* 233, 247, *Eccl.* 547, *Eg.* 1356, *Alexis fr.*

124 προσκέκανκε. Β. μηδὲν φροντίζῃς οὐσιμον γάρ ἔστιν. In *Vesp.* 998 Bdelycleon says μὴ φροντίζῃς, ἀλλ' ἀνίστασο, and then, upon Philocleon's fretting, καὶ μηδὲν ἀγανάκτει γε 'and don't fret so.' And besides θάρρει, μὴ φοβοῦ in *Plut.* 1091 we have θάρρει, μὴ δείσῃς, *Eccles.* 621, cf. 586, *Vesp.* 387 οὐδὲν πείσει μηδὲν δείσῃς and doubtless others, including ζῆ, μὴ τρέσῃς τόδε in *Phoen.* 1074, which however is a second clause.

There are a few examples with other words of which I should give the same account: *Theocr.* xv. 35 μὴ μνάσῃς 'Oh, don't remind me of it!' 'Please don't speak of it!' where μὴ μύμασκε would be normal. *Achill. Tat.* ii. 6 'χαῖρε,' ἔφην, 'δέοπονα.' 'Εγὼ σή; μὴ τοῦτο εἴπῃς,' 'I your mistress? You mustn't say that.' This is just like Mr. Naylor's examples, *Androm.* 88 οὐδὲν δῆτα μηδὲν τοῦτο ὄνειδίσῃς ἔμοι 'No! I hope you will not bring that charge against me.' *Heracl.* 547 οὐκ ἀν θάνοντι τῇ τύχῃ λαχοῖσθαι 'ἔγώ χάρις γὰρ οὐ πρόσεστι μὴ λέξῃς, γέρον' 'I cannot do so; never speak of it.' In these last three a denial has preceded.

In *Plat. Clit.* 409 a εἰπέ μοι ταῦτη τὴν τέχνην οὐκ ἀλληγὸν δικαιοσύνην. εἰπόντος δὲ ἔμοι 'μὴ μοι τὸ οὐρανόν μόνον εἴπῃς, ἀλλ' ὅδε' the meaning is 'I don't want you to tell me merely the name, but . . .' There is a similar sentence in *Rep.* 367 b.

One of the passages I was dealing with originally is *Herodas* iv. 52 μὴ πάνθ' ἔτοιμως καρδίη . . . Κυνοῦ, where Prof. Buecheler has favoured καρδίη βάλοι, which is by no means suitable, Prof. Blass καρδίη βάλῃ; and I maintain that we require the pres. indic., because the sense is 'do not thus (as you are doing).' This limits us to καρδίη βάλεν or, as I prefer, Mr. Paton's compound καρδιοβλοέν; a verb recorded by Hesych. καρδιοβλεῖσθαι: λυπᾶσθαι—for it is of course the same verb whether formed in ο or η: see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 634 *sqq.* Thus the phrase is equivalent to μὴ ἐπὶ πάντα λιτοῦ, an ancient maxim of the Sages, attributed to Periander. πάντα is adverbial; cf. *Hdt.* iii. 36 ὁ βασιλεὺς, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίη καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε (as vii. 18 οὐκ ἔων σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ είκειν), *Soph. O.T.* 1522 πάντα μὴ βούλου κρατεῖν, *A.P.* xi. 326 μὴ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε μηδὲ βάναντος εἶναι, 329 μὴ πάντα κάτω βλέπε, *Lucian* i. 624 μὴ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ Ερμῆ, χρῶ τῇ κλεπτικῇ. Menand. 533 ἀπολέι με τὸ γένος. μὴ λέγε', εἰ φλεῦς ἔμε, μῆτερ, ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τὸ γένος. It will be observed in all these cases, whether they are merely general injunction or refer besides to what is being done, that μὴ πάντα

or its equivalent is followed by the present imperative.

The other examples in Herodas are

vi. 37 μὴ δὴ Κοριττοῦ τὴν χολὴν ἐπὶ ρινὸς
εὖθεῖς, ἦν τι . . .
iii. 58 μὴ λασσον αὐτῷ —Δ. Μητροτίμη, μὴ
πειχεο

i. 17 . . . καὶ μὴ τοῦ χρόνου καταψεύδεο

In all these the meaning is 'Don't do so.' Nor is there any reason why it should not be in

ii. 66 δεῖξον σεωντὸν πᾶσι μηδὲν αἰσχύνεν

In the following the aor. subj. has its proper sense:

iii. 86 μὴ με, λίστομαι, κτείνησ
iv. 93 καὶ ἐπὶ μὴ λάθῃ 'and take care
you don't forget.'
v. 12 ἦν μή . . . θῶ, μᾶ, μή με θῆσ γυναῖκ
εἶναι.
vi. 17 λίστομαι σε, μὴ φεύσῃ
46 ἐνεύχομαι . . . μή μ' ἐπιφεύσῃ(s)
86 μηδὲ τοῦτο με φεύσῃ(s)
vii. 65 μὴ . . . τρέψῃs
114 μῆτε προσθῆσ μήτ' ἀπ' οὐν ἔληγ
μηδέν.

In v. 52 βάδιζε καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλης
ἀντὸν ἄγ' ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐθεῖαν the meaning is
defined by the previous clause βάδιζε. And
perhaps the μή was felt to cohere closely

with τὰ Μικκάλης, as though the sentence
were καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὰ Μικκάλης ἀλλὰ τὴν
εὐθεῖαν ἄγε. Compare *Rep.* 346 A ἐπει τοιόνδε
εἰπέ· καὶ μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ἀποκρίνου (Agam. 922
καὶ μὴν τοῦ εἰπὲ μὴ παρὰ γνώμην). 328 B
ἀλλὰ μένετε καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖτε, *ib.* 338 A,
369 B; Eur. *Hel.* 1259 δυσγενὲς μηδὲν δέδον
and those I have classed with it.

In i. 74 σὺ δὲ αὖτις ἐσ μηδὲ ἔν, φίλη,
τοῖον φέροντα χώρει the meaning is defined
by the addition of αὖτις, 'come not so
again'; and the suggestion made on the
last example might apply to this.

In ii. 92 τὸ λοιπόν, ἄνδρες, μὴ δοκεῖτε τὴν
ψῆφον . . . φέρειν I am not clear whether τὸ
λοιπόν means 'for the future' or 'for the
rest.' In any case I fancy that μὴ δόκει
was used in a somewhat exceptional way
where one might have expected μὴ δόξῃς.

I hope the examples I have quoted are
enough to show that there was ground for
asserting this distinction; indeed Mr.
Naylor himself, with reservations, is con-
vinced of it. If he or others will bring
forward more deviations from the general
rule, we shall be able to pronounce more
certainly upon the influences, often delicate
and subtle, that account for them.

W. HEADLAM.

MODERN GREEK AS A HELP FOR OLD GREEK.

IN a little pamphlet which I published
last year I pointed out a few passages from
the New Testament, the true meaning of
which, but for the help of modern Greek,
could hardly have been established (Jn. x.
24; Mk. ii. 7; vi. 21; vii. 19; ix. 39;
x. 23; xii. 1; Mtt. xii. 44). And I will
now show a similar case out of a classical
text, viz.: Eurip. *Cycl.* 694

κακῶς γάρ ἀν Τροίαν γε διεπυρώσαμεν
εἰ μή σ' ἔταίνων φόνον ἐτιμοησάμην.

In this passage, κακῶς, taken in any of
its ordinary meanings, hardly suits the
context; and therefore Kirchhoff suggested
καλῶς in its stead, a change which Paley
was inclined to approve of. Cobet, again,
suggested ἀλλως = 'vainly, to no purpose,'
and this is undoubtedly the sense which
the context requires. But κακῶς must
have also possessed the sense of ἀλλως,
because the word in this sense is still

preserved in modern Greek under the form
τὸν κάκον (see Vlachos, Δεξ. 'Ελληνογαλλι-
κόν, v. κακόν. 'τοῦ κάκον, en vain; en
pure perte'). The genitive in Romaeic
sometimes meaning *the manner* in the same
way as adverbs in ὡς do in old Greek
(see Jannaris's *Hist. Gr. Gr.* § 1343), τοῦ
κάκον = κακῶς.

ALEX. PALLIS.

Another coincidence between ancient and
modern Greek may be mentioned. The
Attic calendar, for the fourth in each
section of the month, used not τετάρτη but
τετράς (τετράδ, τετράδι ὑστέρη, τετράδι μετ'
εἰκόδας). The modern word for Wednesday,
the fourth day of the week, is identical,
but it is usually spelt τετράδη. Τετράρη
may also be heard, but it is not the natural
expression.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

NOTE ON THE MESSIANIC CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH ECLOGUE.

READERS of Virgil are perhaps not commonly readers of Josephus. But I think that in Josephus is to be sought the explanation of the 'Messianic' character of the Fourth Eclogue. The year 40 B.C. was the year of the Consulship of Pollio, and it was also the year in which, on the advice of Antony, Herod, the son of Antipater, was given the throne of Jerusalem. Octavian, also, was anxious to forward this arrangement, since Antipater had fought for Julius Caesar in Egypt (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiv. 14. 4). Josephus says nothing of any part played by Pollio in this bestowal upon Herod of the Jewish crown. Herod, he says, was introduced into the Senate by Messalla and Atratinus. But in the next section (xiv. 14. 5) he mentions the fact that Pollio was Consul at this time. He does not usually reckon the years both by Olympiads and by consulships—his chronology is usually very loose indeed—nor was there any real reason for his doing so in this case. The year 40 had not any peculiar importance for a Jew, since the Jews generally (and Josephus) seem to have regarded the year 37 as the first year of Herod's reign. There is, of course, nothing unnatural in the mention of Pollio at this point; but Josephus' main reason for mentioning him here is, I think, the fact that he was accustomed to associate together, in connection with Jewish history of the period, the names of Pollio and Herod. The two men were undoubtedly close allies. This appears clearly from a passage in the fifteenth book (xv. 10. 1), where we gather that about the year 24 B.C. (or possibly 27 B.C.) Herod sent his two sons on a mission to Augustus (was it a mission of gratulation upon the honours which fell to Augustus in 27 B.C.?), and these young men 'lodged at the house of Pollio (= C. Asinius Pollio), who was very fond of Herod's friendship.' The explanation of this fondness for Herod's friendship appears, I fancy, from yet another passage of the *Antiquities* (xv. 1. 1): 'Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas his disciple, were honoured by Herod above all the rest; for when Jerusalem was besieged [sc. consequently upon the bestowal of the kingdom upon Herod in the consulship of Asinius Pollio] they advised the citizens to receive Herod.'

The Romans, then, gave the kingdom to Herod in the consulship (one can but infer on the motion) of Asinius Pollio, and the

Jews were advised to accept Herod as king by 'Pollio a Pharisee.'

Is it possible, looking at these facts, to doubt that certain of Pollio's relations were Jews? 'Pollio the Pharisee,' since a Pharisee and (as Josephus mentions incidentally) a member of the Sanhedrim could not have been a mere 'proselyte of the gate.' We may suppose him to have been the son (or descendant) of some member of Pollio's family who had become a 'proselyte of righteousness.' Have we not here a better explanation than any other of the Messianic element in Virgil's poem? Asinius Pollio, if members of his family were Jews, must have been familiar with Jewish ideas, and even with Jewish literature. (We might, perhaps, infer this merely from his friendship with Herod.) He was also himself a poet of distinction. Is it unnatural to suppose that in his poetry he embodied something of the thought and sentiment of Hebrew poetry? Is it unnatural to suppose that Virgil, writing a poem in honour of Pollio, adopted, perhaps merely by way of compliment, the Hebraic style of Pollio himself? This would be particularly appropriate at a moment when Pollio, by securing the election of Herod, had shewn himself so eager a partisan of Jewish ideas.

The name of Herod is associated with the Massacre of the Innocents. This is, perhaps, I would suggest, an echo of a much earlier event, the slaying of Hezekiah and his band—a violation of 'the Law' which the Jews never forgot. But, however that may be, this story of the Innocents connects Herod's name with the expectation of a 'child,' such as that spoken of by Virgil. What Messianic ideals Herod (a much maligned man) may have entertained we do not know. But they may have been known to Pollio and, through Pollio, to Virgil. In some such way as this I think it possible that the Fourth Eclogue may be in very truth Messianic. The 'little child' of Virgil may literally be one and the same as the 'little child' of 'Isaiah.'

I do not, of course, mean that Virgil is speaking to the Jewish world, or has his eyes fixed upon Jerusalem. His eyes are fixed upon Rome. He is speaking to Romans. His mind dwells on the golden promises of the peace of Brundisium. He looks off from the 'little child' of Isaiah, perhaps, to some one of the expected children whose

names have been traditionally connected with this poem. But Jewish ideas of a reign of peace and splendour, of a mysterious prince and saviour who should re-organize

the earth, colour every word—ideas derived, through Pollio, from 'Pollio the Pharisee' or Herod the Great, or both.

H. W. GARROD.

VIRGIL, AENEID VII. 695-6.

Hi Fescenninas *acies* aequosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis habent arces Flauinique arua.

THE zeugma involved in the accepted version of these two lines is so harsh that critics tend either to regard the word *acies* as corrupt or to argue that the passage is one of those which would have been recast, had Virgil lived to revise the *Aeneid* for publication.

If the reading *acies* were condemned, the conjecture 'Hi Fescenninos<s>altus' might claim consideration, but it is ill meddling with fourth century MSS., and besides, is it quite certain that the traditional interpretation is sound?

In the first place *Faliscos* may quite possibly be the name not of the people but of the city, employed here as in Ovid (*Am.* iii. 13.1), because the more usual form *Falerii* is not suited to a dactylic metre. Then the epithet *aequos*, as Müller pointed out long since, may mean the city 'in the plain.' Virgil is thinking of the Roman, not the Etruscan, town—the modern Falleric, which¹ Dennis describes as standing 'on the very level of the plain by which you approach it.'

The town of Fescennium (or Fescennia) was situated somewhere in the ager Faliscus. Its exact position is now unknown. Two sites have however been suggested—Civita Castellana and Sau Silvestro—and with regard to these one point is noteworthy. Each occupies a fairly lofty plateau surrounded or bounded by some of those deep and abrupt ravines,² which are the most striking feature of the ager Faliscus.

Now I submit that the word *acies*, which sprang from the same root and developed on the same lines as our own word *edge*, was used locally to describe these 'sheer rock walls,' the escarpments terminating the plateau on which Fescennium stood. Virgil was an enthusiastic antiquary, and in a

passage full of old-world terms and legends he has preserved the name which the Fescennines themselves had given to this striking feature of their home. We have then in the two lines a double antithesis between hill and dale, plateau and plain. Translate: 'These are they of the Fescennine Edges and these the people of Falisci in the plain: these the hillmen of Soracte, and these the tillers of the Flavinian levels.'

No precise parallel for such a use of *acies* is given in the new Thesaurus, although the cognate word *acumen* is twice used by Ovid (*Met.* xii. 337 and xiii. 778) to mean a mountain-bluff; but names borrowed from the configuration of the country are to be found in all languages.³ A bolder man might argue that in *Aeneid* x. 408⁴ the word has the same force, but I would rather rely on our own analogous use of the word 'Edge' to support, as it suggested, my theory. Thus (e.g.) Kinver Edge near Stourbridge is 'almost a precipice on one side, and a very gradual ascent on the other, about 400 feet high,' not higher that is to say than the site assigned by Dennis to Fescennium.

Soon after Virgil's time the town fell into ruins, and with the town the name also died. Few indeed are the allusions in our own literature to the many English Edges, and Macaulay's New Zealander, if he ever arrives, is likely to be as much puzzled by such a couplet as:—

'Oh tarnish late on Wenlock Edge,
Gold that I never see' ;

as are the critics of these two lines with their theory of a harsh zeugma in an un-revised poem.

D. A. SLATER.

Cardiff.

³ Cf. Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 492, § vii.: and *Aeneid* i. 109 *saxa uocant Itali mediis quea in fluctibus Aras.*

⁴ *extenditur una Horrida per latos acies Volcania campos, A jagged edge (or precipice) of flame stretches across the broad plains ?*

¹ *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, vol. i. p. 101. Servius in his note uses the masculine *Falisci* to signify the town: 'Is condidit *Faliscos*'.

² Dennis, *op. cit.* i. 121.

VIRGIL AENEID XI. 690.

PROTINUS Orsilochum et Buten, duo maxima
Teucrum
corpora : sed Buten adversum cuspide fixit
loricam galeamque inter, qua colla sedentis
lucent, et laevo dependet parma lacerto.

It is an admittedly rash thing to meddle with the text of Virgil, yet I am inclined to think that this passage has been altered since the time of Statius. I am not now concerned to defend *adversum* against the *aversum* of most MSS.; that has been sufficiently done by Dr. Henry (*Aeneidea*, iv. 282). The word to which I take exception is *sedentis*, on which Conington briefly remarks 'sitting on horseback.' No doubt Butes was sitting on horseback, but then so were they all: Virgil is describing a cavalry engagement, which begins at l. 597, and there is no conceivable reason for telling us, nearly a hundred lines later, that one warrior occupied a position necessarily occupied by them all. The correct reading is, I suspect, shown by the imitation of Statius, quoted by Dr. Henry *ub. supr.*, though he does not draw the same inference from it:

Cedentem Achelouios heros
impedit, et librans uni sibi missile telum,
derexit iactus, summae qua margine parmae
ima sedet galea, et iuguli vitalia lucent.

(*Theb.* viii. 522)

This he cites to prove that the wound inflicted on Butes was in the throat, in front, not in the neck, behind; but I think it proves more. I believe that Statius was imitating

Sed Buten adversum cuspide fixit
loricam galeamque inter qua colla sedentem
lucent, ceterum.

'Butes as he faced her she pierced with her javelin, where his throat showed white between his corslet and settled helm,' i.e. the *sit* of his helm, as we talk of the *sit* or *set* of a hat or coat. Virgil meant to describe the unguarded interval between the upper rim of the corslet, and the lower rim of the helmet, which *sedebat*, was settled, or fixed, on a line with the chin. The remaining words are added, as Dr. Henry has pointed out, to show that the shield was not raised to protect this uncovered spot, but held low down.

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[That Statius referred the last word of 692 to *galeam* seems incontestable. But there is no reason why it should not also be referred to *loricam*, in which case *sedentis* will be the accusative plural and it will be unnecessary to change the reading of the MSS.—ED. C.R.]

ON HORACE ARS POETICA vv. 125 FOLL. AND 240 FOLL.

I VENTURE to express a hope that Mr. Maidment's remarks¹ on these passages will receive careful attention. His practical suggestion is to remove 240-3 ('Ex noto fictum . . . honoris'), so that they will stand before 128 (Difficile est proprie, etc.).

I need add nothing to what Mr. Maidment has so well said as to the intrinsic excellence of these 'most Horatian' lines, and the extreme difficulty of forcing them into any connection with the precepts for writing Latin Satyric Drama, which they now interrupt. Even if such a connection can be established, it must narrow the scope of the lines, which in themselves vigorously enforce Horace's favourite warning to

Roman poets that 'easy writing makes hard reading,' and that the true poet

ludentis speciem dabit *et torquebitur*
(*Ep.* 2, 2, 124).

Coming to the question of *where* the lines may have stood, I feel strongly with Mr. Maidment (and with Schütz, ed. 1883) that their natural neighbourhood is somewhere about 128. As to the particular place, I would ask consideration for an alternative view (one of several suggested by Schütz), viz. that they may possibly have immediately followed 130 (quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus). I do so on two grounds:

(1) 'Ex noto' will then naturally arise out of 'ignota,' according to a practice

¹ C.R. xviii. 9, pp. 441-2 (Dec. 1904).

familiar to Horace, which may be illustrated by 'ordo-ordinis' in 41, 2: see also Keller's note (*Epilegomena*, 1879) on *Epist.* 2, 1, 101, which he would with Lachmann read after 107; and so Wilkins and the *Corpus* (1893).

(2) 128 (*Difficile est proprie, etc.*) is surely the starting point of a new topic. Horace has done with the subject of $\eta\theta\eta$, and starts a fresh paragraph abruptly and sententiously. This is the manner of the *Ars Poetica* throughout; it is also the manner of our own classical poets, as Pope and Cowper; but in the *Ars Poetica*, the opening words are, as pointed out by Orelli on this passage, and more generally by Professor Nettleship, (*Journal of Philology*, xii, p. 52) upon the express authority of Porphyrius, quoted from the writer of some Greek handbook, Neoptolemus of Parium or another. I do not wish to say a word upon the interpretation of this vexed passage, except, for the sake of clearness, to express concurrence in Orelli's (and Dr. Johnson's) view of the meaning of 'communia'; and to add that such difficulty as may be felt in the use of the two legal words 'communia' and 'publica' with a different reference must be at least softened by the widening of the interval between them by three or four lines.

If it be granted that the lines in question would read well after 130, can any plausible account be given of their removal to where they now stand?

Apart from any *mechanical* process by which lines might be removed from their place and reappear at an interval of 110 vv.¹ there are two considerations, which may be set down for what they may be worth:—

(1) Schütz finds a difficulty in the change from the second person of 128–130 to the first person of 240. A comparison of *Sat.*

¹ Such as that suggested by Chr. Brennan for Aeschylus, *Journ. Phil.* xxii, p. 62.

2, 4, 72–3, where the same change of persons occurs, may remove this; and the sententious tone of the gastronomic professor is not unlike that which Horace archly assumes in parts of the *Ars Poetica*. But the change of person may have offended some $\deltaιopθωτής$, and suggested a removal of the lines to a passage written in the first person.

(2) As noticed above, *communia* and *publica materies* are terms in legal use. Justinian (Inst. ii. 1) gives a series of methods by which property is acquired in such things, and Horace's lines as to *publica materies* might be a parody of some earlier text book of law (see Roby, *Roman Private Law*, iv. 3). *de medio sumpvis* would stand in a legal context, but such phrases are more often quoted in a literary or general use. In *Epist.* 2, 1, 168 'ex medio quia res arecessit' is said of Comedy. Is it possible that this one line (243) rightly stands before 244, but should immediately follow 239? It would then point and conclude the advice given to the Satyric dramatist to give some dignity to his quasi-comic subjects. 'So much dignity is (or will be) given (in my Satyric drama) to themes drawn from common life.' The variant 'accedet,' which is found in a tenth century MS., would make this easier. The three lines 240–2 are complete in themselves, and might have originally followed 130, though our ear misses the familiar cadence of the sequence of the fourth. If this hypothesis were correct, the $\deltaιopθωτής$ would have had a motive for bringing together the two 'tantum' lines.

The $\deltaιopθωτής$ himself is hypothetical, though *Epist.* 2, 1, 101, seems to suggest his handiwork; and I fear that my two suggestions, taken together, do not amount to a 'vera causa,' but possibly some one else may be willing to strengthen them.

A. O. PRICKARD.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE HERCULES OETAUS.

G. RICHTER was the first to subject the Hercules Oetaeus to a systematic examination¹ with the object of deciding as to whether it was written by Seneca² or not.

¹ *De Sen. tragœdiarum auctore*, Bonn, 1862.

² The Senecan origin of the seven plays which precede H.O. in the Florentine MS. (H.F., Tro., Phoen., Phaed., Oed., Ag., Thy.) is assumed throughout this paper. To these seven the expression 'the other plays' applies throughout.

Whilst his investigations led him to answer the question in the negative, Leo, who in the first volume of his edition had gone far more thoroughly into the points involved, came to the conclusion that ll. 1–705 came from Seneca. This position however has been shaken by G. Tachau, who has shewn³ that the choral passage 104–172

³ *Philol.* 1888, pp. 378 *sqq.*

exhibits the very features which led Leo to reject the latter portion of the play.¹

More recently P. Melzer² has attempted to maintain the Senecan origin of the whole work. He believes that we have only the rough sketch, full of duplicate scenes between which Seneca would have eventually had to make his choice. Richter himself, in the new Teubner edition of the plays, writes on p. 319 :

Argumenta a Leone prolatas acriter impugnauit ac maximam partem uel infirmarunt uel diluit P. Melzer . . . Neque non Pauli Barthii Lipsiensis argumentatio per litteras mecum communica ea ualeat ut stare possit Leonis sententia.

The conversion, at least in part, of the scholar who first took the trouble to investigate seriously the question might so easily lead to a general acquiescence in what I regard as an absolutely impossible position that I feel bound to put forward a solution to which the study of the play had driven me before I had seen any of the literature on the subject, and in which the perusal of that literature has only confirmed me.

A summary of Leo's arguments will give a good idea of the main points involved. The peculiarities of H.O. fall under two heads: (A) frequent resemblances in thought and expression to passages of the other plays, especially the Hercules Furens, and (B) weakness and generally un-Senecan character of the style and thought. A noteworthy example under (A) is the passage 1402 *sqq.*, shewn by Leo³ to be 'paene cento ex Hercule furente deceptus et incepto loco insertus.' Very characteristic too is the repetition of complete (or practically complete) iambic lines from other plays. Under (B) we get slovenliness of grammatical construction, metrical phenomena, such as the shortening of the first syllable of *Hebrus*, *Cyclas*, and *fibra*, laxity and weakness of thought, poverty of language (evinced by frequent repetition of a word or phrase) and peculiarities of style (especially of vocabulary).

Leo's investigation, excellent piece of work as it is, suffers from three defects. He is not clear in his own mind as to the value of the A class of evidence. On p. 51 he thinks everyone will allow that the

¹ Birt indeed (Rhein. Mus. 1879, pp. 516 *sqq.*) maintains against Leo the spuriousness of the whole play. Some of his arguments will be mentioned further on: as a rule he does not examine the passages with sufficient minuteness to be able to prove his case. Emendation of the existing text is his main consideration.

² De Hercule Oetaeo Annaeano, Chemnitz, 1890.

³ Pp. 50 *sqq.*

parallelisms he cites cannot come from one and the same author. But on p. 53 he is less confident and says that he is aware that his examples do not prove that the parallels came from different hands—they only shew that if Sen. wrote the H.O. passages, he did so after he had written, *e.g.*, the Hercules Furens, so that the immaturity of youth cannot be pleaded in explanation of the weaknesses of the play. Again, some of the points raised under (B) are by no means decisive—least of all, the examples he gives of the illogical and feeble character of some of the writing. Leo's failure to press home his attack here is the more surprising as one of the most obvious differences between H.O. and the other plays is the monotony, the absolute lack of point, and the effort to make up for this by mere rant which certain parts of it display. Of this however I shall say more anon: I pass now to the third and last point in which Leo's method fails to satisfy me. It is not until p. 69 that we learn that his criticisms apply with force only to 706 *sqq.* ('eorum quae attulimus per pauca nec e grauioribus illa ad hanc partem [1-705] pertinere'): in the next few pages he proceeds to gloss over and minimise any blemishes which he has previously pointed out in the other portion of the play. So abrupt a turn is calculated to weaken the reader's faith in his guide. As an actual fact Leo quietly drops all mention of some of these blemishes, forgets to remind us that H.O. 484 comes almost direct from the Phaedra, that H.O. 361 contains an example of that use of *forsitan* with a present tense which he previously regarded as important enough to merit a page or more of investigation, that in H.O. 63 *genus* stands for *genus humanum* in just the same way as it does in three passages of the rejected part of the play. If these omissions are fatal to our belief in Leo's sense of equity, still more fatal to our faith in his theory is the fact that the blemishes in the first part are much more numerous than his examination of it reveals.⁴ To some of these (*e.g.* the use of *sonare* in the sense of *uocari* in 692), Birt⁵ has drawn attention and I shall presently point out many others. Here it is enough to remind

⁴ How completely Leo's judgment is blinded by his faith in the theory is best seen by his extraordinary contention that the Deianira of part 1, as distinct from the D. of part 2, sends the garment with the intention of killing her husband. Birt and Melzer have answered him at some length, but the most cursory reading of the play will be enough to settle the question.

⁵ *I.c.* p. 516.

the reader that Tachau has shewn that ll. 104-172 contain the same kind of patch-work as ll. 1402 *sqq.*, the same inaccuracy of thought and strangeness of diction as disfigure the portion which Leo rejects.

The secret of the success of Melzer's attack lies in the fact that it is directed against these weak places. His paper is an extremely able one, testifying to keen interest and intelligent study of the plays. He is often very happy in his refutation of Leo's criticisms under (B). But his arguments on (A) seem to me distinctly mis-

leading. We are asked to concede that the 'imitation' in this play is much the same as we find in others.¹ Leo himself admits, as every student of the tragedies must admit, 'Senecam semet ipsum exscribere in reliquis fabulis.' It is necessary therefore that we should understand clearly what this means, and, fortunately, it is not difficult to do so.

I. Confining myself to the first two plays alone, I find the following half lines, etc. recurring in other plays.

H.F.

50 uidi ipsa uidi	=Tr. 170 (ipse)
953 uultus huc et huc acres	=Tr. 1092
1012 quo misera pergis	=Pha. 142
1027 uixus senectus	=Tr. 42
1138 quis...locus, quae regio	=Tr. 498
1148 animus grande praesagit	Pho. 278 magna praesagit
malum	mala...animus
1189 his pater	O. 828 malum timeri maius
quicquam timeri maius...	his aliud potest?
	potest?

An examination of the other plays would lead us to similar results. In one or two

TRO.

450 squalida obtectus	=O. 625 (except that <i>squalidam-comam</i> is written here)
519 dehisce tellus tu-	=O. 868
que	que
630 bene est: tenetur	=M. 550

O. 688 domus ciuium coetu uiget.

A. 8 hinc auspicari regium capiti decus.

II. As for mere phrases, they of course recur from time to time—not more frequently in these plays than in other Latin writings.² I have noted more in the Troades than anywhere else: *talis incessu . . . sic tulit* 465, 466, H.F. 330 (*talis incessu* . . . *sic tulit*); *fidem alligare* 611, Th. 972; *retro patefacere iter* 724, H.F. 55 (*uia-m*); *in cinerem dare* 739, Pho. 113; *scelerum artifex* 750, M. 734; *scrutari ore* 812, Th. 499; *ad (in) auctorem reddit* 870, O. 706.

III. Again, when particular *loci* recur, the language is sometimes very similar in both cases. Compare the dogs of the hunting-scene, Pha. 31 *sqq.*, with that of the simile in Th. 497 *sqq.* (*sagax, lorum, teneo*,

¹ See what he says on p. 22. If it is more frequent in H.O. than elsewhere, he thinks it will be because that play is *ceteris multo minus elata*.

² Repetition of pet phrases, often part of the common rhetorical stock in trade (such as *derat hoc solum, pars quola, hoc non est nouum*), is a different thing, and the consideration of it does not belong here.

passages I have found curious, probably quite accidental, combinations. Thus

Pha. 436 domus sorte felici uiget.

482 ciuium coetum cole.

Th. 657 hinc auspicari regna.

H.F. 257 regium capitum (*capiti* E) decus.

presso, rostro, occur in both passages), the Bacchus of H.F. 472 *sqq.* with him of O. 423, 441 (*syrma, thyrum leuem uibrare*). But variation is Seneca's rule even here: observe the different forms in which he dresses his favourite theme *medio tutissimus* in Pha. 1123 *sqq.*, O. 882 *sqq.*, A. 57 *sqq.*, Th. 391 *sqq.*

IV. Where, as often, a *sententia* is repeated, the language is carefully altered: see the variations on the *mot* 'death often a boon' in H.F. 511 *sqq.*, Tr. 329, A. 995, Th. 246 *sqq.*

From the Senecan usage as described above, H.O. varies in two important respects. (1) Nowhere else can I find an example of the transference of practically a complete iambic line from another play. The nearest approach to such a thing is H.F. 1189 cited above, and I know no parallel to it within the compass of the 7 plays. In H.O. we have five examples: 27, 484, 745, 1680, 1797. (2) The repetitions in H.O. are not merely frequent: they are often

continuous. I do not think I can illustrate what I mean better than by shewing how

Iole's monody¹ (173 *sqq.*) echoes a similar passage of the Agamemnon.

H.O

173 *sqq.* tempa suis collapsa deis.
 181 quae prima querar, quae summa
 gemam
 197 *sqq.* coniunx Ceyca gemit . . .
 natumque sonat flebilis Atthis
 198 sibi facta superstes
 207 uidi uidi

Nor is the author so engrossed by his reminiscences of the Agamemnon passage that he cannot work in something from

178 alio nostras fortuna uocat lacri-
 mas.
 185 Sipylum flebile saxum.
 211 *sqq.* si tumulum fata deditus
 quotiens querendus eras.
 215 *sqq.* 'My parents were lucky to die in
 the sack of the town.'

It is this continuity, this use of patchwork as distinct from mere untimely reminiscence, that seems so important to me. That Seneca in a rough draft might, to an extent he would never allow in the finished work, repeat phrases used in other plays, that he might borrow a *sententia* in an almost unchanged form, is possible enough. Even a Vergil required *tibicines*. But I cannot think that he would allow reminiscences of a similar situation in a previous play to obtrude themselves in such a way as to completely paralyse the very qualities of his genius on which he pinned his reputation. Of course frequently the tags do not fit their new surroundings very well. But this is a criterion which often fails us, and Melzer has met Leo very successfully in several cases where the latter has tried to apply it. In this very monody, one can hardly say that the words are ill suited to the occasion, which is of course practically the same as that of the Agamemnon chorus. But the fact remains that the whole thing is a mere cento from the Agamemnon, patched up with loans from other plays, and this seems to me decisive. On the same principle I hold Leo mistaken in regarding H.O. 863 *sqq.* as a bare-faced plagiarism from Pha. 1104. The thought itself, as I shall presently shew, thoroughly suits the context, and the surroundings are entirely free from suspicion.

In attacking Leo's arguments under (B) Melzer has done well in shewing that the

A.

653 tempa deos super usta suos
 649 quid nunc primum . . . quidue extremum
 deflere paras.
 671 cantat aedou Ityn 680 licet alcyones
 Ceyca suum . . . sonent
 709 superstes sibi
 = 656

other plays, or other parts of that. So we have

Tr. 142 alio lacrimas flectite uestrás.

A. 394 Sipyli uertice summo flebile saxum.
 Pha. 1274 saepe efferendus.²

Tr. 142 *sqq.* 157 felix Priamus—secum
 excedens sua regna tulit.

train of thought, etc. in several of the passages cited by Leo is perfectly satisfactory, or at any rate worthy of Seneca. A fair example is his defence of H.O. 844: *reddendus orbi est* (*sc.* Hercules): *quod potes, reddere exhibe* (*sc.* poenam). Leo objected to the word-play in this verse, although he was able to quote, in a footnote, something very similar from Seneca's prose—and of course the thing is only too characteristic of the most brilliant Silver work. Melzer appositely quotes Ag. 987 *fratrem reddat aut animam statim*. At times however Melzer's success is due entirely to the fact that Leo has not observed the worst point in the passage in question. Thus at H.O. 1272 *sqq.* Melzer disposes of his criticisms by reading *durius—uulnus*. But he leaves the extraordinary phrase *rictus meos infregit* (1274) untouched: Leo found no fault with this. Compare what I have to say further on about H.O. 574. I quite accept Melzer's position that little can be proved by the repetition of words and slovenliness of grammar that we find in H.O. I think the evidence with which he supports it excellent.

The question of vocabulary raises a more important issue. Richter indeed tried to

¹ The parallelisms have not, so far as I know, been noted before. Birt is the only scholar who has examined the speech; his view of its spuriousness is based simply on the verbal repetitions which it contains (*l.c. p. 535*).

² Both passages refer to the burial of the remains of men torn or smashed to pieces.

support his views as to the spuriousness of H.O. by shewing that it did not contain certain particles (e.g. *etiam*) which are found in the other plays—a method against which Melzer justly enters a protest. More plausible are the arguments drawn from the occurrence in this play of particles etc. not found in the others, and Leo, who tacitly dropped Richter's other arguments, takes the trouble to refute some of his statements under this head,¹ and draws attention to the use of *haudum* in 80 and appositional *quamquam* in 1506, 1861.² Melzer, who evidently distrusts this kind of evidence,³ might have given strong reasons in support of his attitude. The fact that a line contains a word not used in the other plays is in itself no evidence against its genuineness. In the seven Senecan plays words so common as *deo*, *breuiter*, *ceu*, *comminus*, *coram*, *fere*, *grauiter*, *iampridem*, *ideo*, *iuxta*, *merito*, *nuper*, *propter*, *siquidem*, *subinde*, and *uerum* ('but')⁴ occur each in one play only and the 1344 lines of the Hercules Furens contain some 130 words which recur in none of the other plays—there are, in fact five lines which contain two such words.⁵ On the other hand one may go too far in Melzer's direction. Considering the hysterical tone of the plays, the tendency of the characters to exclaim, Leo's observation that *ei mihi* is never found in them whilst H.O. shews it, or signs of it, in five places,⁶ is surely very important.

But grave doubts often arise as to the very Latinity of this play. Melzer admits this as regards the four passages where *genus* stands for *genus humanum* and 1604 where *quem tulit Poaeans* means 'whom P. begat.' I cannot think he has been successful in his attempts to dispose of the six cases

¹ He might have mentioned that *fere* does occur in the plays (Tro. 438, 1143).

² Neither Richter nor Leo seems aware that *quamquam* does not occur at all in the other plays.

³ See his remarks on pp. 33, 35.

⁴ *Neendum* I have only noted in Pha. 1109: if this is the only place, we have a close parallel to the isolated use of *haudum* mentioned above.

⁵ There is therefore nothing suspicious, in itself, in the use of *interim* in H.O. with the meaning 'sometimes.' It is a common Silver (and Senecan) use. It is curious it does not occur in the other plays, but so is it that the equally Silver and Senecan *tanti est* is found only in the Phoenissae (where, like *interim* in H.O., it occurs twice). But the fact that in both places (481, 930) *interim* is in bad company makes a difference.

⁶ Melzer will not allow 1172 and 1205 to count as instances, because in the former A reads *male*, in the latter E (not A, as he says) *mihi*. I think there can be no question that *ei mihi* must be read in both places. In Leo's sixth instance (1181) I admit that the reading is too uncertain for us to reckon it.

cited by Leo where the genitive of the personal pronoun is used, after the most approved manner of the beginner, with possessive force. M.'s eclectic view of the relative merits of the two recensions A and E allows him to choose, in five of the instances, an alternative reading which gets over the particular difficulty, but these alternatives are not in themselves free from objection,⁷ and one can hardly believe that the MSS. would by mere coincidence so often shew traces of the genitive. The worst example of all, *dextra tui* of 1217, cannot be got over—certainly not by M.'s explanation that the genitive is thus used for emphasis. As for the passages from Seneca rhetor which he cites after Leo, one can only say that, although it is quite permissible to make use of weapons with which your adversary supplies you, it is advisable to be sure that they are reliable weapons. Both passages⁸ are clear instances of the objective genitive, governed in the one case by *obiurgator*, in the other by *alimentum*.

Curiously enough, some of the most glaring shortcomings of H.O.'s vocabulary have as yet escaped the eyes of the critics.

I. QUOTUS.—The phrase *pars quota est* so dear to Ovid is not uncommon in the Senecan plays. It is however always used there in the literal sense. The only parallel I know to such a use as we have in H.O. 51 *pars quota est Perseus mei* is (apart from a passage of Claudian) Ou. M. 9. 69 *pars quota Lernaeae . . . eris echidnae*, 'what will you be compared with the Hydra?' What Ovid could write, Seneca may have written. But at l. 95 we read

quota est mundi plaga
Oriens subactus? aut quota est Gorgon
fera?

The meaning is obvious—'The East is only one quarter, the Gorgon one monster; what is that compared with the many that I have subdued?' Apart from the fact that in the other plays *quotus* is only used in the phrase *quota pars*, I question if any parallel can be produced to the force with which the word is here employed.

II. IECUR.—Horace certainly uses this word in connexion with the passions of anger and love, but I cannot believe that Sen. would treat it as a satisfactory synonym for

⁷ For instance *nunc ueram tuam | agnosce prolem*, A's reading at 954, is only a shade better than E's.

⁸ Con. 2. 2. 9, 3. 7 (excerpt).

cor and *pectus*, as is done in the following lines of H.O. :

574¹ sed iecur fors horridum flectam me
rendo.
709 pauidumque trepidis palpitat uenis
iecur.
1677 comprome infirmum iecur.
1732 o durum iecur !

III. *Siccus*.—This epithet, applied absolutely to persons, ordinarily denotes the teetotaller or at any rate temperate drinker.² In 1269

siccus aerumnas tuli

it is used with the meaning 'without shedding a tear.'

IV. *PENSARE*.—In 1747 *sqq.* we read

nec properat uri, cumque iam forti datum
leto satis pensauit . . .

Hercules is in no hurry to get the ordeal by fire over : he wishes to shew such fortitude in bearing the pain as will ensure his end being reckoned a noble one. *Pensauit* appears to mean 'he deemed,' a presumably very late force of the word.

V. *GIGANS*.—Alemene, alluding to the heap of ashes which is the only relic of Hercules, says in 1759

huc ille decreuit gigans !

I know of no other case where the word is used to denote simply a huge man.

Melzer's theory explains much. Admit that we have in H.O. the rough sketch of a play, and we cannot be surprised by slight laxness in the treatment of details, especially metre, by the abnormal length of this tragedy, its wearisome repetitions, its contradictions, above all the aimless, drifting character of some of its scenes. But such a theory does not help us to face the three phenomena on which I have laid stress above, the pointlessness, the patchwork, and the bad Latinity.

Before explaining my own solution of the problem, I should like to call attention to

¹ Curiously enough Leo and Birt have objected to the use of *fors* as contrary to the customs of the other plays, Melzer has defended it, and put an emendation at the disposal of anyone whom his defence fails to satisfy, but no one has attacked *iecur* in either this or any other of the passages.

² *Udus aleator* in Mart. 5. 84. 5 is no doubt meant to denote the opposite tendency. No one will believe it means that he begs for mercy in tears. *Sicca (uda) puello* in Martial is no doubt a piece of the argot of the day.

some small points relating to the use of anaphora which I have noted as distinguishing H.O. from the other plays. Anaphora is common in these and I have what I feel sure is a tolerably complete record of the instances. Those in which a single emphatic word is repeated and a word intervenes between the pair are not uncommon. In all of them the emphatic word³ either forms part of the first foot (*uidi ipsa uidi*; *sed fateor, Atreus, fateor*) or follows immediately on the penthemimeral caesura (*parta iam, parta ultio est*; *matris, en, matris sonus*). In three passages of H.O. (two of them within a few lines of each other) we find this anaphora in a different place : 756 *o lares, miseri lares*; 770 *pro diem, infandum diem*; 1201 *pro ferae, uictae ferae*. In another part of H.O. we find two instances of the addition of *nam* to the word when it is repeated (1338 *ubi natus, ubinam* and 1399 *ubi morbus, ubinam*) ; this again is peculiar to the play. In general I would note that in various parts of it, anaphora, the italics of the ancients, is used in a forcibly-feeble manner for which I can find no parallel in the other plays : two instances will be mentioned in the course of this paper.

The fact that so careful a student of the plays as Leo could accept part of the Hercules Octaeus as the work of their author, and that Richter seems now ready to believe that the whole of it is genuine is in itself testimony that there must be considerable merit in this composition, of which so far mainly the faults have occupied us. I propose now to examine in detail⁴ ll. 1-103, which form the Prologue of the play and seem to offer me the best means of introducing to the reader the views for which I am seeking his approval.

1, 2 sator deorum, cuius excussum manu
utraequa Phoebi sentiunt fulmen domus.
Sator deorum = Pha. 157; *tuas (sc. Titanis) utrasque domus* is in H.F. 1062. The rest seems due to H.F. 517 *cuius excussis tre-*
munt | humana telis.

³ I might say the *first* of the pair, but for H.F. 1147 *nescio quod mihi | nescio quod animus grande praeasagit malum.*

⁴ Birt has criticised this part of the play (pp. 532 *sqq.*). So far as his objections apply they may be taken as supplementary to those pointed out above. Tachau (*l.c.* p. 381) states that he intends to prove the spuriousness of the prologue, but I cannot find that he has ever done so.

13, 14 quid astra, genitor, quid negas? mors
me tibi
certe remisit.

Anaphora of interrogative particles is altogether rare in the other plays: here it seems very feeble in the mouth of the imperious Hercules, and the fact that *numquid* has undergone anaphora in l. 11 makes things worse. The second sentence recalls H.F. 1143 where Hercules says *certe redimus* (from the quest of Cerberus, to which of course the present passage refers).

19 Hēbro.

See above p. 41. The point has been noted by my predecessors: I would add that there is distinct reminiscence in the whole passage of A. 842 *sqq.*, where, in reference to the same Diomedes, the four words *grex, Hebrus, hospites, and crux* occur as here.

26 una est Geryon sparsus manu.

The sentence is barely intelligible until we illustrate it by the line of which it is an abridgment, H.F. 487 *nec unus* (i.e. *triplex*) *una Geryon uictus manu.*

27 taurusque populis horridus centum
pauor

It is curious that Leo¹ has not noted the parallelism to H.F. 230 *taurumque centum non leuem populis metum.*

Here then, in the space of less than 30 lines, we find collected most of the points which Leo very justly regards as un-Senecan. The subject-matter itself is very poor. When I pass from the *Controversiae* of Seneca pater to the plays of Seneca filius I feel that I am simply continuing my studies in a rather more vitiated atmosphere. But in this passage of H.O. I look almost in vain for the *sententiae vibrantes*, the *colores* and all the gay paraphernalia of rhetorical tragedy. If we exclude from consideration the borrowed plumes, we shall be able to muster only three 'points,' and their quality hardly atones for their numerical weakness. L. 6 = 'I have saved Jove many a bolt,'² l. 12 = 'Can't Atlas carry a heaven weighted by my presence?' l. 23 = 'The daylight feared Cerberus, and he the light' (which is really only an amplification of H.F. 60 *uiso labantem Cerbero uidi diem* with the aid of the description in 813 *sqq.*, esp. 824 *diem inuisum expulit*).

¹ On pp. 51, 52, where he notes parallels much less complete.

² The writer seems pleased with this: it recurs at 850 *sqq.*, 1143, 1912.

Contrast with the passage we have just reviewed ll. 28-46. There is no obscurity; in only one place can there be any suspicion of 'imitation,' and the 'points' are numerous enough to satisfy Ovid himself—29 *iratis deis non licuit esse*, 31 *redde nato patrem uel astra forti*, 38 *in tutum meas laudes redigi*, 43 *nec meos lux prosequi potuit triumphos*, 45 *intraque nostras substitit metas dies*, 46 *terra defecit gradum*. The suspicious passage referred to is this:

34 uel si times ne terra concipiat feras,
properat malum quocumque, dum terra
Herculem
habet uidetque.

In H.F. 937 *sqq.* Hercules exclaims

si quod etiamnum est scelus
latura tellus, properat.

The idea suits H.F. *l.c.* perfectly well. The hero is eager for rest: if he is doomed to more toil, let it come now that he may get it over. But it suits the H.O. passage, where Hercules is disposing of any possible objection that Jove may raise to his release, even better. As there is no imitation³ in the rest of the passage I think we may recognise what we have here as genuine Senecan repetition.⁴

At l. 47 we are amidst dross again. *Lassata prior est (sc. terra)* is a feeble (and mistaken) comment on the *terra defecit gradum* of the previous line.⁵ In 47, 48 Hercules says *nox et chaos in me incucurrit*, whereas the point was that *he* invaded them. *Hunc orbem* of 48 is, I think, an unusual way of contrasting the upper earth with the realms below.⁶ The boast of 50 *sqq.*—'no storm could⁷ toss the ship that had me on board' is very curious. In the first place pride in mere weight is but a poor thing. And the legends take rather a different view of *Hercules nauta*. Statius (Th. 5. 401) describes him as rendering Argo unsteady; in Valerius (3. 475 *sqq.*) he catches something very like a crab and

³ H.F. 83 *sublimis alias Luna concipiat feras* might be compared with l. 34. But Leo rightly regards the line as an interpolation there—possibly it came hence.

⁴ Anyhow this one blemish (if blemish it be), like the one oasis in the desert of 47-71, can easily be reconciled with the explanation I offer for the whole problem.

⁵ So at 763 *luctum occupasti* receives the feeble addition: *prima, non sola, Herculem maeres.*

⁶ In H.F. 821 the earth above is called *orbis* in contradistinction to the realm below.

⁷ It is worth noting that *uulet*, which never takes an inf. in the other plays, does so here and elsewhere in the play.

falling back flattens out several of the oarsmen behind him—a catastrophe which might well have sunk any bark save the good ship Argo. I am sure I have somewhere read of a legend which made the Argo (through the medium of its speaking stem from Dodona) absolutely decline to take him aboard, for fear of his sinking her. Of the unusual force given in 51 to *paris quota* I have spoken above. In 53 *sqq. feras tellus timet concipere* (which echoes 34 *terra concipiatur feras*) is at once repeated by *ferae negantur*, itself an echo of l. 30 (*si negat mundus feras*). The ideas that no 'monstra' are now left except Hercules himself, who *monstri loco iam coepit esse* (55) is ridiculous. At 63 comes the brachylogical use of *genus* already mentioned more than once. The thought, too, seems very weak. After 'what good has freeing my fellow creatures been?' we expect to hear examples of their base ingratitude, instead of which we learn that the gods are now in trouble, and we see, what it was impossible to see before, that *prodest* does not mean *mihi prodest*, but is used quite generally. Then in 67 *sqq.*, quite after the model of H.F. 6 *sqq.*, we have the 'spheres of activity' of the constellations Cancer and Leo described. Of the latter we read :

69 annum fugacem tradit Astraeae leo,
at ille iactans feruidam collo iubam
austrum madentem siccatur et nimbus
rapit.

L. 69 of course simply alludes to the fact that the Sun passes from Leo to Virgo. But why the adversative particle and the demonstrative pronoun¹ in the next line? Does the writer mean that the lion throws this work over to the just and virtuous Virgo (much as it is rumoured that some professors hand theirs over to their assistants) and flies off on a wild tour of exploration, 'drying' liquid Auster and 'culling' the clouds. It seems improbable, especially as Leo surely has no power except when the sun is in his sign, and l. 70 vividly recalls the *Leo . . . rutilla iubam | cervice iactans* of H.F. 948. Amid all this rubbish I find one gem :

61 o quanta fudi monstra quae nullus mihi
rex imperauit. instituit uirtus mihi
Iunone peior.

The idea of this seems to me excellent in itself, but it also answers a passage of H.F.

¹ Surely *ipse*, which Gronovius under a misapprehension attributed to E (it being probably his own conjecture), is necessary in any case.

(*laudanda feci iussus* 1268) in a way which suggests a son who had studied to some purpose the *pro* and *con* arguments of the paternal Controversiae.

At 72 begins another lucid interval. The first part of the passage forms a doublet to ll. 63–71, a point to which I must presently recur. The writing, though not so good as in the passage 28–46, is clear and forcible. *Antecessit* of 73 is very Senecan; *astræ portentis prius* (*quam mihi*) *Iuno tribuit* of 74, 75 is the typical bitterness of rhetoric. The idea of *committat undas Isthmos* 83 is found in M. 36, but it is just the kind of thought Seneca loves to repeat (cf. his frequent references to the narrowness of the Isthmos), and we find it copied by Lucan, Silius, and Statius.

The tone begins to fall off at l. 89. ll. 89^b–91 only repeat the sense of ll. 87–89^a; *glacialis polus* is in H.F. 6 and recurs in a highly suspicious context at 336; *seruida* is not used in the other plays of the torrid zone, whilst the use recurs in 1218, 1797 of this play; the repetition of *partem* in l. 90 by *parte* in the next line is the more odious as *parte* stands also in l. 88. In l. 91

hac esse superos parte securos puta

securus very much more definitely loses all idea of 'freedom from care' than in any of the 13 passages of the other plays in which I have noted its occurrence.² By l. 92 the decline becomes a downfall. We borrow openly from H.F. 13 *sqq.* by quoting the cases of Phœbus (here styled Paean, a name unknown to the other plays), Bacchus, and Perseus as precedents for the translation of a hero; at 95, 96 comes the extraordinary use of *quotus* to which I referred above.³

The strong contrast between the merits of the passage 28–46 on the one hand and those of 1–27 on the other, of 72–89^a on the one hand and 47–71 or 92–96 on the other,

² Of course if we had *iube* in place of *puta* the case would be different. The fact that *iubes* stands at the end of the previous line will doubtless check the enthusiasm of any one who wishes to emend accordingly.

³ The rest of the prologue is, I believe, spurious. The plural *triumphos* (of a single victory) seems suspicious. I must take the opportunity of protesting against Rutgers' *acta* which Richter admits to the text of l. 102. I believe we ought to read *ora* for the *ara* of the MSS. For *templo tollens ora...spectat mare* ep. V.F. 2. 9. *attollit tondentes pabula Magnes* | *campus equos*, and Pha. 285 *quaque nascentem uidet ora solem*.

can, it seems to me, be explained in only one way. The work of a good writer (and I see no reason why he should not be the author of the other plays) has been contaminated with that of a bad one. A rough draft left behind him by Seneca (in a much less complete condition than the *Phoenissae*, although, as we shall see, some of the choruses had been attempted) was supplemented by a person of literary pretensions, whose work is sometimes original (in which case the style is bombastic and wearisome, the language often illiterate), sometimes simply a more or less skilful patchwork of tags from other plays.

This theory explains, I think, the problems which meet us. Take for example the duplicate passage of 63-78. Melzer's explanation would doubtless be that we have here alternative compositions of Seneca's. But could he, even in his first sketch, write such Latin as *genus* of 63, such nonsense as *at ille* of 70? How much more likely that his amplifier, to whom I shall henceforward apply the long-suffering name of editor, felt bound to expand the little which Seneca had left, and did so with the success which his method and his talents deserved.

There is no knowing what liberties this worthy may have taken with his 'nucleus.' Probably Seneca left many lines unfinished. Not only does one of the incomplete *Phoenissae* scenes end with such a line (319), but even the polished Troades admits one at the end of a speech (1103). I cannot help thinking that E has preserved some trace of the condition of the draft at l. 739 where it offers, in the midst of complete iambic lines, these two fragmentary ones:

tumensque tacita
quassat caput.¹

H.O.

247 in uultus dolor processit omnis.
251 nunc inardescunt genae:
pallor ruborem pellit et formas dolor
errat per omnes.
253 queritur, implorat, gemit.

Secondly, its style is peculiar. *Dolor in uultus processit* seems a bold metaphor; *pectoris paene intimo nihil est relicturn* is mere nonsense; in 252 (cited above) *nunc*

¹ That A here gives us a single line *tumensque tacita sequitur et quassat caput* is a thing to be remembered against it.

² This *ut* would be very awkward after the temporal

A clear case of an interweaving of the two threads so closely that only the minutest care can enable us to unravel them is, I think, to be found in the nurse's speech 233 *sqq.* The first seven lines of this seem to me thoroughly Senecan: the subject is the radiant beauty of Iole when Deianira first meets her. Deianira's behaviour is next described:

240 stetit furenti similis ac toruum intuens
Herculea coniunx, feta ut Armenia
iacens
sub rupe tigris hostile conspecto exilit
aut iussa thyrum quatere conceptum
ferens
Maenae Lyaeum, dubia quo gressus
ferat
245 haesit parumper: tum per Herculeos
lares
attonita fertur.

Now l. 240 is a medley of *furenti similis* in H.F. 1009 and *toruum... intuens* in Th. 706. This medley is quite out of place here. In H.F. the *furens* is in rapid motion, and so one would suppose here when she is compared to a tigress leaping from its lair. And yet l. 240 says definitely *stetit*, and, as if it was feared we might miss the point, l. 245 repeats the verb with *haesit parumper*. The second simile, though very like M. 382 *sqq.* (*incerta qualis entheos gressus tulit | cum iam recepto maenae insanit deo*) thoroughly suits its environment: the dazed Bacchante and Deianira take time to realise what they are to do. If we omit ll. 240-242 and read *ut* for *aut* in 243, I believe we shall have what Seneca's draft had.² Unfortunately there is no doubt that the rest of the speech is due to our editor. For, first, the Medea pervades it.

M.

446 totus in uultu est dolor.
858 flagrant genae rubentes, pallor fugat
ruborem,
nullum uagante forma seruat diu
colorem.³
390 aestuat, queritur, gemit.

is needed with *pallor ruborem pellit*; 254, 255 run thus:

sonure postes: ecce praecipi gradu
secreta mentis ore confuso exerit.

ut of 237, but possible enough in a draft.

² The tigress simile of 241 *sqq.* may be due to this passage, which continues *huc fert pedes et illuc, ut tigris orba natis*, etc.

where the double ablatives and the use of *exero* with *secreta* in the sense of 'betray' are most objectionable. As an actual fact, if Seneca left the speech unfinished, the editor was bound to notify the arrival of Deianira on the stage. *Sonuere postes* may come from O. 911 where the words 'sed quid hoc? postes sonant' introduce the entrance of a messenger.

This closeness of intertexture makes me resign all hope of resolving the play into its two factors. The attempt would occupy many more pages of this journal than it deserves, and I for one am not sanguine enough to believe that every detail would receive general acceptance. I am however convinced that the double character of the style which the examination of the prologue has revealed can be traced at various points right through the rest of the play. To this task I turn next.

The long scene between Deianira and her nurse is very rich in Senecan passages. Among them I reckon ll. 278 *sqq.*, where the appeal to Jove and the Sun (cp. H.F. 592 *sqq.*, O. 249 *sqq.*, Pha. 888-9, etc.) in ll. 290-1 and the thoughts *Hercules tantum fui coniuncta timentis* and *uota cessere captae: pauci felix fui* (291, 292 *sqq.*) are characteristic enough. So with ll. 307 *sqq.*¹, where amidst much Senecan language is the brilliant *pares eamus* with which Deianira reproaches her cooling anger. At l. 344 begins a very good passage,² from which I select: 348 *me nuptiali uictimam feriat die | infectus Iolen dum supra exanimem ruam*, 351 *sqq.* *quid ipsa flamas pascit et uastum fouet | ultra dolorem?* 357 *illicita amantur: excidit quidquid licet, 361 ipas misericors* (sc. Hercules) *forsan aerumnas* (sc. Ioles) *amat, 365 nullamque amoris Hercules retinet notam.*³ Ll. 380 *sqq.* are still better: see

380-4, 385 *sqq. nostra...forma | deperdit aliquid semper... | nec illa uetus est, 389 materque* ('maternity') *multum rapuit ex illo mihi, 394 sqq. nihilque ab illa* (sc. Iole) *casus... | nisi regna traxit,⁴ 400 nuribus Argolicis fui | mensura uoti, 406 alte illa cecidit quae uiro caret Hercule.* Equally genuine I think are ll. 444-464, where note especially how independent the witchcraft locus (452 *sqq.*) is of the similar passages M. 707 *sqq.*, 754 *sqq.*⁵

Twice, I think, we get a trace of the imperfect condition in which Seneca left the play. L. 307 runs:

quid hoc? recedit animus et ponit minas?

Yet the lines immediately preceding breathe nothing but bitterness, culminating in the thought 'the day that ends our wedlock ends your life'! Seneca is no Shakspere, to express by such abruptness the whirl of Deianira's passion. How he would use such a line can be seen from Th. 324 where Atreus, after deciding not to involve his children in the horrible crime he is planning, suddenly turns and rails at his own attempt to be only half a villain—*male agis: recedis anime?* In H.O. too, no doubt, Seneca meant the words to follow on signs of softening on the queen's part, but never completed the corresponding portion of the speech.⁶ The other trace is at l. 407 where '*Conciliat animos coniugum partus fere*, 'the birth of children often wins back for a mother the father's love,' is a direct answer to Deianira's complaint that child-bearing has diminished her beauty. But between the two intervene some sixteen lines of her speech. Probably Seneca, after writing the latter, jotted down a reply to part of it, as the germ of a speech for the nurse.

As for the editor's hand, it appears on almost every page of the scene. At 314 *sqq.* the nurse tries to frighten her mistress. 'Even if you can escape man's wrath, after killing Hercules, you will not escape his father's bolts,' she says, and continues (327)

Nameaeus hardly commends itself, and the year's stay with Omphale is not a very good example with which to console D., I must admit the possibility of interpolation here: there is, moreover, distinct reminiscence of H.F. 471, and *marcidus myrrha conam* seems an extraordinary expression.

¹ L. 399 is presumably corrupt.

² For brevity's sake I say nothing in this paragraph of shorter passages such as 428-432², 569-574⁴.

³ Ll. 299-303 may be part of such a passage; they certainly give an opportunity for a transition to a more lenient view of Hercules' offence. But I do not believe the lines are Senecan.

⁴ In l. 314 Richter's *uel* is quite an unnecessary change. Deianira says, 'Juno will be here to guide my hands *nec innocata*,' 'and (or 'even') without being summoned.' This force of *nec* is common in the plays, and *innocata* is p. p., as in Pha. 423, 944.

⁵ In l. 344 the anaphora of the infinitive (*ire, ire*) seems objectionable and occurs nowhere else in the plays. I would read *LIBET ire ad umbras Herculis nuptiam, libet, comparing H.F. 1156 libet mecum uidere uictorem, libet.* In l. 364 I think *concessa FAMULO est* of *ψ* is necessary: *concessa* distinctly wants a dative. The application of the word to Telamon is an example of rhetorical exaggeration not unlike Pha. 94, where Theseus is called *Pirithous' miles*: cp. too Ov. M. 7. 483, where Telamon is *pars militiae* in reference to Hercules.

⁶ Leo has rightly pointed out that the repetition of *nempe* in this passage is natural enough. But the *nempe* of l. 374 is peculiar and quite different from those in ll. 353, 363, 366, 369, which introduce the nurse's answer to D.'s fears. As Heinsius' conjecture

mortem quoque ipsam, quam putas tutam,
time:
dominatur illic patruus Alcidae tui.

The idea comes (with verbal borrowing) from Pha. 149 *sqq.* ('You won't be able to hide your guilt from Neptune, from the Sun, from Jupiter'). But it is ridiculous to picture Pluto as eager to avenge the death of his old enemy, the man whom Juno saw (H.F. 51) *Dile domito spolia iactantem patri fraterna*, so that she goes on *cur non uinctum et oppressum trahit ipsum (Plutonem)*? The words *quam putas tutam* have no basis in anything that precedes, for D. has not said a word about her own death. And how feeble it is for the nurse, after threatening her with all the pains of earth, heaven, and hell, to say at 332 'moriere'! At 434 we read:

DEI. quid stupes, segnis furor?
435 scelus occupandum est...
436 NUT. perimes maritum? DEI. paucis
certe meae...
439 NUT. quis iste furor est? DEI. quem
meus coniunxi docet.

As commentary I quote: Pha. 719 *anime, quid segnis stupes?* A. 193 *scelus occupandum est*, H.F. 1263-4 AMPH. *Perimes parentem?...genitore coram? HERC. cernere hunc docui nefas.* I pointed out above the merit of the passage 452-464: contrast therewith 465 *sqq.*, where the influence of the Medea passage at once makes itself felt (cp. esp. 469 *bruma messes uideat* and M. 761 *messem uidet hibernam Ceres*) and the form *deprehensum* (470) is a unique exception to Seneca's practice of contracting the verb *prehendere* and its compounds.¹ There is a pretty sample of the editor's work in ll. 480 *sqq.* Deianira, about to make use of the drug, implores the nurse to preserve secrecy, assuring her that her plans '*non tela sunt, non arma, non ignis minax.*' The following dialogue ensues:

480 NUT. praestare fateor posse me tacitam
fidem
si scelere caret: interim scelus
est fides.
DEI. circumspice agendum, ne quis ar-
cana occupet...
485 NUT. en locus ab omni tutus arbitrio
caret.

That the phrase 'I confess' ill applies to the statement 'I can keep a secret if doing so involves no crime' is perhaps a small

¹ I find at least nine examples of this contraction.

matter. The use of *interim* is, as mentioned above,² striking, but possible enough. But 482 is a most instructive line. Scaliger suggested *aucupet*, no doubt rightly, but as far as I know neither he nor anyone else has noted that the whole line is due to Mostellaria 472-3 *circumspicendum, numquis est sermonem nostrum qui aucupet.* I know of no parallel to this in the other plays. And, curiously enough, at 484 we have an example of that borrowing of a practically complete iambic from another play (Pha. 601) which, as we saw above,³ distinguishes H.O. from the wholly Senecan plays. Ll. 563 *sqq.*⁴ again shew unintelligent borrowing. It is bad enough that the nurse is sent to fetch what Deianira would more naturally fetch from the secret spot in which it was hidden (486). It is still worse that what is fetched is not the drugged robe, but the drug—and the robe, so that the drugging apparently takes place 'coram populo'.⁵ Worst of all are the words with which the nurse reenters:

prolata uis est quaeque Palladia colu
lassauit omnem texta (*tela* ψ) famularum
manum.
nunc congeratur uirus.

In M. 843, whence the use of *uis* probably comes, *peracta uis est omnis* may easily mean 'the whole tale of my magic power is told.' As however Valerius Flaccus certainly uses *uis* in the sense of *φάρμακον* (see 7. 355, 450, 460) it is impossible to say that Seneca would not have done so. Even the use of *colus* in connection with weaving may be defended: *nere* is certainly used in similar context. But the verb *congeratur* only suits a case where several poisons are mixed, as is the case in the passage which, I have no doubt, our editor had in mind: M. 706 *congerit in unum frugis infaustae mala.* The only way to make sense here would be to translate: 'Let the poison (and the robe) be put together,' but this seems to me almost impossible. And the presence a little further on⁶ of that stormy

² P. 445.

³ P. 42.

⁴ Of the long narrative 485 *sqq.* little, if any, is likely to come from Seneca. Ou. M. 12 has been freely used: e.g. the witch Mycale (525) comes thence. The prayer to Cupid (541 *sqq.*) may contain some genuine material (e.g. 552-555): as a whole, it is hardly consistent with D.'s departure at l. 580 to pray to Venus.

⁵ Can anything else be meant by l. 565 *congeratur uirus et uestis bibat | Herculea pestem: precibus augebo malum?*

⁶ L. 574. See on p. 44.

petrel, the use of *iecur* with the meaning of *pectus*, saves us from all need to strain our powers of interpretation; *ars cessit malis*, as Seneca says of the tempest which befel the Greeks returning from Troy.

Coming next to the chorus of 583-705 we see at once that from 675 onward the theme *medio tutissimus* is handled in a way closely reminiscent of O. 892 *sqq.* The reference to Icarus comes in both passages: both borrow the *ueras aues* of Ovid (Met. 8. 195). This is in itself, as I pointed out on p. 42, contrary to Seneca's habit. And a cursory examination of the two passages will I think illustrate very clearly the difference between Seneca and the editor; e.g. among other things O. 898 *nomen eripuit freto* with the *nulli dedit* (*sc.* Daedalus) *nomina ponto...dedit* (*sc.* Icarus) *ignoto nomina ponto* of H.O. 685, 690. This part of the ode too contains the unprecedented use of *sonare* referred to above,¹ as well as the very bold construction of l. 677 *dum petit unum praebere diem*, where the object of *petit* (the subject of *praebere*) has to be evolved from *patrio* in the next line! I accordingly reject ll. 675-699; it is noteworthy that no other chorus in Seneca reaches the length of 123 lines—only one, and that exceptional in other respects, exceeding the century.² The rest of the ode is, for the most part, genuine Seneca: as characteristic I cite 588 (*Achelous*) *poneret undas*, 589-599, 608 *in tot populis uix una fides*, 614-5 *noctem quotiens summovet Eos* | *regem totiens credite nasci*, 616 *pauci reges, non regna colunt*, 644-672.³ At 622 however we are rudely startled by the application of the epithet *gemmafer* to Hister. A glance around shews that we have fallen into the snare of our editor, who, in confused remembrance of M. 724, 5

Danuuius illas (*sc.* aluit), has per arentes
plagas
tepidis Hydaspes gemmifer currens aquis,
improvises
nec tamen omnis plaga gemmiferi
623 sufficit Histri...
627 nec si totus seruiat Hebrus
ruraque diues iungat Hydaspes.

How far his interpolation goes is difficult to say. The feeble anaphora *auidis auidis*

¹ P. 41.

² The polymetric chorus beginning O. 403, which reaches a total of 111. The passage Tr. 67-163 (104 lines) is dialogue between Hecuba and the chorus. The longer odes generally vary between 80 and 90 lines.

³ I agree with Richter and others that 673, 4 seem out of place here.

Natura parum est (631) is surely his, as well as *non ut presso uomere SEMPER | NUMQUAM cessel curuus arator* of 633, 4.⁴ Probably we give him his due by assigning him ll. 622-636.

We come now to the consideration of the part of the play which even Leo rejects entirely. Certainly the scene between Hyllus and his mother starts badly enough. Not only do we find stumbling blocks (referred to in the earlier part of this paper) at 745, 756, 760 (*genus*), 770, but ll. 751-4 present a typical example of the editor's method. In O. 858 the herdsman, describing the plight of the babe whose life he spared, says: *wulneri innatus tumor | puerile foeda corpus urebat lue*, whereupon Oedipus says *quid quaeris ultra?*—i.e. 'no further inquiry is needed, the facts are manifest.' The H.O. passage runs:

Herculeos toros
urit lues⁵ nescio qua: qui domuit feras
ille ille victor uincitur maeret dolet.
quid quaeris ultra?

The patchwork is obvious, and one notes the anaphora *ille ille*, which seems doubly weak after the relative clause.

Yet it behoves us to use care. That l. 738 is a valuable remnant of the Senecan draft I have shewn above.⁶ And contrast ll. 706-9 with ll. 710-14. The first passage is by no means free from 'reminiscences' and contains an example of the fatal use of *iecur* to which I have more than once referred. But the other is excellent and may well be from Seneca. With the previous one it coheres only in the most superficial way. For whereas there the whole position is that Deianira has had a fright and is still terribly frightened (*impulsis adhuc | stat terror animis et cor attontum salit*, etc.), the Senecan lines compare her condition to that of the sea after a storm: her *mens adhuc uexatur EXCUSO METU*. It seems quite probable to me that Seneca meant the fear to be her fear of her rival: she has allayed this by sending off the robe, but still feels uneasy. But even if this be fanciful and

⁴ The thought is rather striking. This man loves wealth—not because it enables him to give employment to a number of deserving people, but *solas optat opes*. But one might add to the linguistic objection the material one that there is no difference between this man and that of 621 (*cupit hic gazi implerere famem*).

⁵ In O. *i.e.* the Etruscan actually reads *lues*.

⁶ P. 48.

the fear in both cases refers to the crumbling of the wool in the sunlight, there is no question as to the discrepancy itself, and very little as to the authorship of the first passage.

Here, however, I must not stop to claim for Seneca fragments so brief as this. At l. 775 we enter on a vigorous description of the sacrifice and the agony which suddenly comes on Hercules. The shortening of the first syllable of *Cyclas* in 803 may mean that the editor here interpolated a line or two: on the other hand Seneca ventured on *Sigēon* (Tro. 932), *rēi* (Th. 332), *cū* (Ag. 146, where the 'i' is actually elided) and may have ventured on *Cyclas*. I am much more exercised by another matter—the somewhat numerous 'reminiscences' which the passage contains: 775 *uertice immenso* (H.F. 1208¹), 786 *sordidum tabo* (ib. 785), 788 *veste tum fulgens tua* | *cana reuinctus populo horrentem comam* (cp. H.F. 467 *fulsique...* *veste...* *horrentes comae*—likewise of Hercules), 792 *splendescat ignis* (Th. 56), 800 *uasto....mugitu replet* (Pha. 1171—in each case of a bull). Most of these are brief enough: perhaps the only one important in itself is 788 *sqq.* But it is certainly unusual in Seneca to find so many within so small a compass. I can only say that in every instance the words thoroughly suit their new context, so that it seems likely we have here what I suggested at the outset was possible enough: Seneca has repeated himself in the draft to an extent he would hardly have admitted to the finished work. The quality of the passage lasts until l. 808 when it receives an effective foil in an insertion by the editor. Hercules has suddenly burst into groans: without a word to tell us² that his agony was evidently due to the robe he wore, we find him suddenly turning on Lichas. The borrowing at once begins to take its usual slavish and tasteless form: l. 811 repeats the thought of H.F. 1023 (l. 808 has already recalled H.F. 1022), l. 815^a = A. 528^a (*ecce alia clades*). Obscurity and straining of expression resume their revels. Most important of all, these lines (808–822) obviously disturb the narrative. Accept them, and Hercules after hurling Lichas into the sea says abruptly enough, at l. 823, 're-

¹ And elsewhere, so that it is hardly a case of 'reminiscence' such as we are investigating. In the same way the fact that in 784 *uotinum pecus* = A. 806 *pecore uotinu* seems to me of no importance.

² In the *Trachiniae* 767 *sqq.* *προσπτύσσετο πλευράσιν ἄρικολλος...* *χιτών* fulfil this office. In H.O. the dress has not been mentioned since 788 (and then only quite casually).

*sistite...non furor mentem abstulit.*³ Omit them, and this follows most naturally on 806 *sqq.* : *vulgaris antiquum putat* | *rabiem redisse* : *tum fugam famuli petunt*. The rest of the speech is, I think, genuine: note such turns as 825 *vix pestem indicat* | *et saevit*, 828 *hoc solum Herculem* | *non posse vidi*, 832 *nec causa...patet* | *sed causa tamen est*, 838 *o sortem acerbam* : *suimus Alcidæ pares.*⁴

Deianira's speech (842 *sqq.*), though not free from reminiscences, I claim also for Seneca: witness 843 *natum reposcit Iuppiter, Iuno aemulum*, 844 *quod potes, redde exhibe*,⁴ 854 *perdidi in solo Hercule* | *et ipsa* (like Phaethon) *populos*, 869 *hunc decet ferro immori*,⁵ 883 *aemuli, Iuno, tui* | *mortem occupauit*. One part of it certainly craves medicine, for the application of which it is necessary to quote at some length:

858 a me petatur (*sc. mors*) : *occupa ferrum ocius.*

cur deinde ferrum?

861 *haec haec renatum prima quae poscit diem*

Oeta eligatur: corpus hinc mitti placet;

abrupta cautes scindat et partem mei ferat omne saxum: pendeant laceræ manus

865 *totumque rubeat asperi montis latus,*
leuis una mors est. leuis: at extendi potest.

Leo objects to the use of *deinde* in 859. I am much more offended by the isolation of 866, which not only comes in abruptly, but is followed by no explanation of the way in which D. proposes *extendere mortem*. I would transpose it to precede 861: by falling down the precipice she will be torn in pieces, each part as it were dying separately. In the light of this I can now understand *Contr. 1. 3. 3* (see *C.R.* 1904, p. 221), where a precipitous cliff is chosen for the place of punishment *ut saepius deiciantur.*⁶ The dialogue (889 *sqq.*) is

³ Fond as Seneca is of violent contrasts I can hardly believe he wrote l. 840 *Austerque lenis pondus Herculeum rapit.*

⁴ For the asyndeton cp. Tr. 967 *luctare, gaude, M. 449 discendo exeo, O. 1053 fugio exeo.*

⁵ Leo's objections to the allusion to Hercules' sword (p. 52) seem to me answered by Melzer, p. 29. It is true we do not hear much of that weapon, but the MSS. give it in H.F. 1229, and Seneca was thinking of Dido and Aeneas more than of Hercules and Deianira.

⁶ Ll. 859–60, with the objectionable *deinde*, may be the editor's addition, to give the transition from 858 to 861 (rendered necessary when once 866 had got displaced). There may be other work of his in the neighbourhood: ll. 885–888 are weak.

thoroughly Senecan.¹ But from l. 910 onwards the editor's hand is clearly visible: one need only select for criticism the extraordinary feebleness of 911, 2 *si noui Herculem* (= H.F. 642) *aderit cruentum FORSITAN* *victor mali*, and the inaccuracy of 918 *ELISIT hydram*.² *Pha.* 246 *sqq.* have inspired ll. 925 *sqq.*,³ 1229 *sqq.* of the same play have produced ll. 942 *sqq.* In 949-963 (possibly more) I believe we return to *Sen ca*: 951 *seu mater nocens | seu dira soror es* (to Medea), 961 *in me suas agnoscat ... manus*, 962 *coniugum turba*, 963 *sed et illa fugiet*, and the indicative in the deliberative question at 971.⁴ There is, however, a serious difficulty in l. 954:

nunc ueram tui
agnosce prolem.

We have seen above⁵ that this use of the personal pronoun is characteristic of the editor. Possibly Seneca wrote *uteri tui: proles fulminis* of M. 84 is much bolder. Of the rest of the scene I can only say that ll. 1000 *sqq.* seem to contain a thoroughly Senecan situation. Deianira has begged for death at her son's hands⁶: suddenly the vision of the Furies bursts upon her and she cries *scelus remitto*—'I can excuse you from matricide: the Furies will give me all I need.' Very possibly Seneca meant her to stab herself at l. 1006 (*poenas poscis Alcidae? dabo.*); at any rate this would be quite after his manner: see O. 1038 *sqq.*, M. 970 *sqq.* If so, the duplicate passage that follows is probably due to the editor—as the last six lines and a half most certainly are.

From this point onward I can be brief. Amidst all the rubbish that certainly predominates in the latter half of the play seven considerable passages stand out in marked contrast to their surroundings. To them I confine my attention, regardless on the one hand of occasional flashes in the gloom (e.g. at ll. 1346 and 1376), on the other ignoring the editorial work⁷ except in

so far as the contrast between the two styles is of assistance in deciding the question of genuineness.

(1) 1100⁸-1127. The rest of this chorus is so full of absurdity, commonplace, and reminiscence that the best way of testing my view is to compare it with the portion I have selected.

(2) 1249-1268*. Note 1258 *omne es malum nullumque*, 1261 *palam timeris* (both phrases addressed by Hercules to the mysterious agony that is attacking him), 1264 *o malum simile Herculi* (with which cp. O. 925 *secum ipse...grande nescio quid parat | suisque fatis simile*).

(3) The dialogue 1352 *sqq.* Very characteristic is the indignant or surprised *et (καὶ τῶς; etc. in Greek tragedy)* of l. 1355: ep. Tr. 429, 598; Pho. 243; M. 525; Pha. 673; O. 954; A. 292; Th. 196, 1075.

(4) 1564-1592. Here, as in (1), the Senecan chorus is imbedded in the editor's trash. L. 1518 is a medley of O. 250 and Pha. 678 (*o...mundi decus; radiate Titan*); in 1524 *quatiuntur* is a meaningless reproduction of the sound of *patiuntur* in the previous line; l. 1531 runs *quando, pro Titan, ubi, quo sub aye (!)*; the monosyllabic ending of the Sapphic in 1543 is paralleled only⁹ by *licet sit* in Tro. 1018 (a much less objectionable case, as the two words cohere so closely); in general, the thought, though fairly free from reminiscence, is very 'thin.' At the other end occurs the impossible use of *tulit* referred to on p. 44. Turning to the lines I regard as genuine, we at once note in the passage beginning *loca quae sereni | deprimes caeli* resemblance to the thought of Verg. G. 1. 24 *sqq.*, Luc. 1. 52 *sqq.* The idea of the hero's proving a *burden* to the sky, which is not in Vergil, is common to Lucan and this passage. I think Seneca was more likely to affect Lucan than Lucan the editor, who shews no other signs of the nephew's influence. Another point that is Senecan is involved in the *ἄντα ποταμῶν* of ll. 1582 *sqq.*: here, along with stock examples, appears an unusual one ('the salt sea shall become fresh'), and this is the case with the other passages H.F. 374 *sqq.*,

¹ Especially 891, 894, 896, 897.
² This may be due to confused recollection of H.F. 221 *sqq.* *guttura elidens* (of the snakes at his cradle) *proluisit hydrae* or to Ovid's *elisos hydros* (H. 9. 85), which of course refers to the cradle-snakes. We have seen the editor using Ovid's work above.

³ In l. 919 *obrutus artus ueneno* read *oblitus*.

⁴ For which cp. H.F. 964; Tr. 642, 686; Pho. 220, 450, 497.

⁵ P. 44.

⁶ Ll. 984-6 then may be quite genuine.

⁷ I cannot refrain from calling attention to some points hitherto ignored: the miserable line *quod nulla fera est, nullusque gigans* (1215), the use of

elidere in 1270 (*tot elitis mala*) in the general sense of *domare*, the imitation of H.F. in ll. 1294, 1308, 1313-4, 1351, the use of *quamquam* in 1506 (*quin irose, quamquam Iuppiter, credi mens | pater esse gaudei*). In general, one need only refer to Leo's criticisms and the points noted in the earlier part of this paper.

⁸ Possibly the Senecan work begins at 1092. But the text of the passage there is too uncertain to build upon.

⁹ Leo, p. 60.

M. 401 *sqq.*, Pha. 568 *sqq.*, Th. 476, *sqq.*¹ The use of *non* with the optative (1589) is also Senecan; see H.F. 936; Pha. 946; O. 258, Th. 48, 185. The only difficulty presented by the passage is the transitive use of *quiescere* (in the sense of *tacere*) in l. 1586. I know nothing like it in the other plays, and must admit the possibility of editorial interference here.

(5) 1619-1641 and (6) 1693-1707^a. I put these together because all the rest of the description of the scene at the funeral is full of our editor's characteristic faults: e.g. we read at l. 1644 *quis illum credat ad flamas rapi?* The meaning is, of course that his face was so joyful that none could imagine him at death's door, but the simile of a moaning lion which immediately precedes is a very bad introduction to the thought. And again in ll. 1679-1681 occur four clauses, three of which come almost verbally from the other plays.

(7) 1863-1898 (at least).² A passage similar to (1) and (4) above, and like them choral. Here, however, Seneca precedes the editor: see 1867 *ipsa quiddam plus luce perit*, 1880 the allusive *funus plangite uerum* (addressed to Cretans), 1884 *nondum Phoebe nascente genus* (of Arcadia), 1897 *non stabulis nascitur infans* (as it did in the time of Thracian Diomedes). The only objection taken to the passage is the fact that in l. 1883, an anapaest follows a dactyl: the same however occurs, as Leo observes, in H.F. 1064. In case some may object to *caerula Crete* of l. 1874 I quote from a recent article in the *Archiv*³ dealing with

¹ The only passage where no novelty is introduced is Pho. 84 *sqq.*, which however is very brief.

² I think ll. 1849 *sqq.* quite Senecan. Leo himself (p. 66) notes, in answer to Richter's criticisms (p. 25), that *aliqua* is 'valde ex Senecae more' (Melzer well compares Pho. 249: so is *grex* in 1850 (cp. H.F. 507, 1149, Tr. 32, 959, A. 701), and 1852 *sqq.* *matribus miseria adhuc exemplar ingens deral* seems to me to have a thoroughly Senecan ring.

³ 1905. 1. p. 81.

this adjective: 'So dürfen wie uns also gar nicht wundern wenn selbst die Insel Crete als *dominatrix uasti freti* (Pha. 85) Sen. H.O. 1874 das Attribut *caerula* bekommt.' *Caeruleis equis* of H.F. 132 is much harder. The other half of the chorus is not Seneca's: observe the ineptness of *mundi turba citati* in l. 1903 (in A. 827 the epithet *concitatus* is applied with full force), *mundum . . . caelumque tulit* of 1906, the phrase *vector Olympi* (=Atlas) of 1907, the absurd anaphora of *nempe*⁴ in 1911-2. The exact line of demarcation between the two sections is doubtful: it must be either at 1898 or 1900.

Here then we say farewell to Seneca. It seems, at least, to me impossible to ascribe any of what follows to his pen. There is not, it is true, much 'reminiscence' here,⁵ but matter and style are intolerably weak. The question as to when the editor did his work I do not feel qualified to attack. Some indeed may think that too much time and space have already been devoted to the question of the genuineness of a Senecan play. The present age, with a literature that shares several weaknesses with silver Latin, has little sympathy with the writers of that style. Ovid, to whom Spenser owes much, is nowadays labelled a mere trifler; Valerius, a real poet, is classed with, even below, the pointed but wearisome Lucan. When we come to Senecan plays, the tendency to say that nothing is too bad to stand there seems almost irresistible to a certain class of critics. It is therefore desirable that those who are interested in the literary work of the first century after Christ should satisfy themselves that the inferior metal which they affect is at any rate pure.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

⁴ Which he never uses elsewhere in chorus.

⁵ This feature is, in fact, much less noticeable in the latter half of the play.

THE AMBROSIAN MS. OF PRUDENTIUS.

To have a decided prejudice in favour of a manuscript solely on the score of antiquity has long been proved a false principle; but to entertain a prejudice against a manuscript on that score and no other, is a peculiarity that I think one may fairly say is reserved to editors of Prudentius. I

have several times treated in this journal of their neglect of the old Paris MS.; and now I would speak for its brother, at Milan. In the Ambrosian library is a MS. of Prudentius (D. 36. Sup.) in an uncial hand of the seventh or eighth century coming from Bobbio.

With the solitary exception of Heinsius none of the editors has condescended to look at the MS. : even the careful Dressel, who raked over Italy for almost every fifteenth or sixteenth century fragment, is content to reproduce Heinsius' few and often incorrect statements about it. His description of it for instance is quite misleading: 'codex Ambrosianus antiquissimus *Cath.* et *Perist.* aliquot tantum hymnos praebebatur' he says. One imagines a miserable ill used and illegible fragment;

OLD HAND.

ff. 1-8 *Cath.* vii. 149-ix. 93.
 ff. 22-29 *Cath.* xii. 113 to the end. *Per.* x. 1-205.
 ff. 35-74 *Per.* x. 454-1140, i., ii., iii. 1-112.
 ff. 80-135 *Per.* v. 343-575, iv., xiv., vi., vii., ix., *Ap.* i. up to 847.
 ff. 147-178 *Ham.* 806-967 : *Psych.* to 667.
 ff. 183-206 *Psych.* 843-915; *Symm.* i. to 336, 561-657, ii. to 84.

LATER HAND.

ff. 9-21 *Cath.* ix. 94- end of x. *Per.* xi., xiii., xii. The verses of Constantina and Damasus on Agnes. *Cath.* xi., xii. 112.
 ff. 30-34 *Perist.* x. 206-453.
 ff. 75-79 *Per.* iii. 113-215, v. 1-342.
 ff. 135-142 *Ap.* 848-1084, *Ham.* to 135, 581-805.
 ff. 179-182 *Psych.* 668-892.
 ff. 207-314 *Symm.* ii. 85-520.

In the present number of the *Journal of Philology* I have endeavoured to prove that the later MSS. of Prudentius fall into two main groups, a French and English group and a German group, of which the German group is distinguished by the transposition of the *Peristephanon* from its correct position and placed at the end of the volume of poems immediately after the *Cathemerinon*; and by severing the last two hymns of the *Cathemerinon* from the rest of the book and placing them after the *Peristephanon*. The first of these changes undoubtedly occurs in *Ambr.*, but by a kind of mistake, for at the end of *Cath.* xii. is written 'Finit Cathemerinon. Incipit Apotheosis,' though what immediately follows is *Per.* x and the rest of the *Peristephanon*. Now this placing of the hymn to Romanus before the rest of the *Peristephanon* is one of the special characteristics of the other, the French and English class; and it is with the French class that the order—or rather disorder—of the rest of the *Peristephanon* agrees. There is one unfortunate exception to that statement and with it is bound up the question whether the last two hymns of the *Cath.* were separated from their fellows or not. *Per.* xi., xii., xiii. cannot have stood where they do in the French MSS., after *Per.* ix., because in *Ambr.* that hymn is followed by the *Apotheosis*; but it seems such an unjustifiable proceeding to insert them, and them alone, between *Cath.* x and xi that I surmise that origin-

ally that gap was filled merely by the missing parts of the *Cath.*, and those three hymns of the *Per.* were either omitted or occurred in the other gap between *Per.* iii and v.

However that may have been, *Ambr.* is in order an interesting connecting link between the two different classes; but in its readings it belongs distinctly to the better class (e.g. *Ps.* 177 *virtus et*; 414 *foedatur*; the omission of the verses inserted in the German MSS. after *Ham.* 858; the reading 'caede stupenda' *Cath.* ix. 85). Indeed, though in view of such instances as *Cath.* ix. 58-60 and *Ps. Praef.* 63 it may be impossible to rely exclusively on *Put.* and *Ambr.*, still for such part of the poems as they contain they should form the base of any future edition.

I may perhaps notice here one form of corruption which is especially frequent in the MS.: the omission or addition of *m* or *n*, possibly due to the use of the stroke to represent those letters (e.g. *Ap.* 308 *face-rent*, 314 *patrem*, 400 *audiant*, 433 *plagam*, 462 *reuicts*, 529 *matrem*, 623 *separant*, 774 *pleue*): the confusion of *b* and *u* as in the last example is also common.

In the collation which follows I omit variations of spelling, and other unimportant variants, and also the readings given in Dressel's apparatus except when they are mistakes. In that case I have given the correct reading adding a star. For convenience sake I have separated the

readings of the old hand from those of the later hand which has filled up the missing parts; and where the variants are also found in the Paris MS. I have placed 'Put' in brackets after them.

Cath. vii. 151 pullati (*Put.* and practically all MSS.), 169 hauriat (*Put.*), 165 derogat (*al. m. suprascr. lne.*), *205 pectoris is a correction by a later hand from 'corporis.' The 'u' of rubiginem is altered to 'o' and the 'in' appears to be over an erasure, but, I think, by the first hand. viii. 31 cernat (*corr. al. m.*), 57 esequamentum (*corr. in obs.*), (*64 ineruans) (*71 cibuum), 72 temptas. ix. 5 corda
d s

(*corr. in e al. m.*), 10 *corefusus, 18 *quam, profundo (*corr. in -al. m.*), 27 praemissus (as *corr. in o.*), 58-60 The order is 60, 59, 58 (*Put.*), 'et' is altered to 'fit' by a later hand. 59 referta (*Put.*), 60 forte qualiter quaternis (*Put.*), 72 dissolubilis (*Put.*), 74 reuloso (?) (*corr. in recluso*), 90 sibila (*Put.*), xii. 133 quo (*Put.*), 184 pinxerint (*Put.*), 195 durum (*corr. in di.*).

Ap. 1st Praef. 12 in om. *2nd Praef.* 30 concitaram, 47 fertiles (*Put.*), 53 dent, 55 messe. *Ap.* 26 uera, 27 ni (*Put.*), 90 ratio uia (*Put.*), 97 quem, 117 munere, 137 subrahite accensi frigescit, 160 om. (*Put.*), 181 existet, 186 et quis, 201 quod somniat, 202 exist.
ao et

209 nummen (*mut. in no- al. m.*), 226 sumnumediae, 230 fit, 232 sursum (*Put.*), 248 and 249 are transposed, and 248 reads 'sive supernatus fuerit sibi ipse repente' (*Put.*), 254 om. ut (*Put.*), quo, 260 sensus (*Put.*), 265 qui (*Put.*), 269 generatura unus, 284 fit nobis, 295 percurrente scrinia, 308 facerent, 310 condimus, 322 possint (*Put.*), 329 cæcavident, 337 lege, 360 procellis (*Put.*), 395 fragilans, 398 multae, 400 audiant, 408 auctor, 419 quid sis, 425 roseos et qui (*Put.*), 436 deus deus (*Put.*), 439 regit (*Put.*), 454 orbi (*Put.*), 464 reserat (*Put.*), 472 perferre, 484 frustra,
a

487 om. (*add. al. m.*), 523 arte (*Put.*), 530 materne ex, 573 et om., 577 fore nuntiat (*Put.*), 673 que (quae *Put.*), 676 reddit, 700 stupefacta—sauctorem om. 702 purgamen (*Put.*), 722 qui om., 729 parvo de, 774 pleue, resolute, 791 ipsa (*Put.*), 793 uerus uerus deus ille (*Put.*), 794 esse, 797 diest, 834 distans (?).

Ham. 818 nequiam (*Put.*), 863 quo, 908 den-seta (densetur *Put.*), 916 tristes et (*Put.*), 936 ueniam, 947 minaci (*al. m. ex -ei t.*), *Ps. Praef.* 1 om. add. al. m. 60 parente natus alto et ineffabilis (*Put.*), 68 impletuit. *Ps.* 36 exultant, 58 famulas-
t

que, 67 figurant, 104 contempta, 111 erigidis, 137 et, 165 securus, 177 et (nam *supra al. m.*), 216 o (*Put.*), 220 yobis, 263 morsa, 269 at, 272 ac sub is written over an erasure and 273 added in the margin by another hand, 275 perspicit, 290 et om.
d

293 funali, 298 possent, 324 neruoy (neruum *Put.*),
f

338 quem (*corr. al. m.*), 407 effata, 413 nequiam (*Put.*), 429 dulcibus (*corr. in lux. al. m.*), 449 flam-m. iv

deobom, 492 peculator (*Put.*), s. add. al. m. 498 sacerdotealumini (*corr. al. m.*), 500 olamca flatu (classica *supr. al. m.*), 510 ingemuit, 515 formauit (*corr. in durauit al. m.*), 553 ueste (*Put.*), 570 incertus, 578 se om., 591 ligant (ba *supra al. m.*), 615 nec, 623 addubitas (*corr. in at. al. m.*), 630

scaelus embaestae (*corr. al. m.*), 635 gradum (*corr. al. m.*), 642 arce (*mut. in arcem al. m.*), 649 est (*corr. al. m.*), 894 ac, 906 om. add. al. m. 910 omnes (*Put.*).

Symn. i. Praef. 9 pertulerat, 17 focos trudant, 37 discutit, 74 spes, 79 subsistit, 23 quis, 43 qui.
a

47 ut exul, 61 criminiamota, 62 at, blandosque mirros (*corr. al. m.*), 66 firmarant, 74 aytus, 117 tactataeferuit, 151 parumque, 165 ianjontant (abie-*al. m. supra*), 168 isidicium (subeumbit *al. m. supra*), 169 ne terrestre est ne deam, 179 obiceret (audire supra *al. m.*), 190 quod in urbe, 196 seruauit terror, 205 habitu, 209 impressit, 223 fiant is written over senatu by another hand, probantur, 230 uiro, 233 dus, 256 et geniale parantur, 266 creata, 282 regione incantes, 289 triumphi, 318 breuiores, 561 graecos, 584 genitoris olisos, 585 magnis lateram adcuravit, 610 quam uocant, 614 om. add. al. m. 638 si...temptat (cum...temptat *supra al. m.*), 649 partam (altered by a later hand to patriam).

Symn. ii. Praef. 48 fidentem merito, 51 planus, 9 eductos...calentes, 13 sacrament, 14 equis, 35 cuique dextra est, 40 nomen, 47 uolunt (malum *al. m. supra*), 48 conualuit...trina (docta *al. m. supra*), 69 ueterem, 73 suis (*corr. al. m.*), 84 equis.

Per. i. 3 scriptata. 22 dura (*Put.*), 25 decorum est hoc (*Put. 2.*), 27 morte, 69 nobis (*corr. al. m.*), 76 nec, 97 domantur, 98 ritu, 119 perstrepant. After 120 an uncial hand supplies in the margin a verse 'quo beatas trinitatis concinatur gloria,' ii. 4 triumpha (*Put.*), 44 dispensas, 86 praestrigis, 106 qua (*Put.*), 134 spem (*Put.*), 160 primus (*al. m. ex promus*), 193 turbidus (*Put.*), 213 effectus, 222 luces, 250 sitque, 255 nihil, 287 nt, 328 retudit (*Put.*), 333 sed iam, 437 confoederantur (*Put.*), 439 manuscens (*Put.*), (*463 Ambr. does not read creditus as Dressel says), 483 et stabunt, 487 euolens, 514 orare in puluina numiae, 521 doma, 545 quia, 579 martyras (*Put.*), iii. 12 tres, 21 flere, 25 inligataest (changed to -tae est), 88 numero, 103 uictus, 134 negarit (*Put.*), 146 *heperco (changed from lup- by a later hand), 151 iulianus (*Put.*), 153 pangat (*Put.*) changed to -dat, 157 *euoti, 167 uictios (*Put.*), v. 390 nec, 392 figat, 394 ad, 464 aspectum, 484 interterit, 520 *subter, 574 sit, vi. 8 superbum, 24 ne, 46 patrem osatum (*corr. al. m.*), 55 re-signarat, 78 nec, 79 resolut, 126 *quos foro, vii. 20 uuida, 42 mitiferis, 78 hebet, 82 quid.
r

x. 22 luciente (r. *al. m.*), 54 pauentum, 59 est (om. add. al. m.), 116 *tundatur (changed to tend-by a later hand), 144 ingentia (uel insignia *supra al. m.*), 178 deas deosque, 180 et, 196 cybabis, 204 uictus, 480 ruit (*corr. in -at.*), 483 saeuia, 495 artis, 508 fetit, 578 resistet, 597 minore, 658 spectem, 692 quantulus, 713 impiorum, 725 colere, 768 parata nobis gloriae, 784 grata (changed to data), 789 munere est, 840 ego, *879 uelut, 881 laterna, (*896 quidam not quondam as Dressel says), 912 praefectus ergo ratus, 972 sen retunis tactibus, 1012 consecrandus, 1025 blattele, 1076 accepit fragitidas, 1080 sic om., 1117 uligo, xiv. 6 fidelis ac, 20 offerebat, 59 tunc, 63 ascensus, 79 Christo, 89 subiectu, 110 malorum taetius omnium est, 112 ac.

A glance at the variants just given is sufficient to show that there is a much greater agreement between the two oldest MSS. of Prudentius than one could gather from

Heinsius' few readings, and if space did not prevent me from giving spelling-variants the same impression would be still more strongly enforced. Suffice it to say that most of the statements made in my article on the spelling of *Put.* apply too to *Ambr.*

From whatever source the later hand, which has filled up the gaps, derived its text, it is by no means a contemptible authority. In proof of that it is sufficient to note that the lines inserted in the worse class of MSS. after *Ap.* 937, *Ham. Praef.* 43, *Ham.* 69, *Symm.* i. 367, ii. 143 do not occur. I did not completely collate this latter part of the MS., but examined a number of readings, of which I will give a few to illustrate its worth.

Cath. ix. 102 ac. x. 8 *foli.* *spiritus simul et caro seruit: and then as Dressel's* i. 60 *arcet.* (154 *ut est eleazar.*) 157 *atra e. xi.* 111 *perpetem.* xii. 67 *puero cui.* *Ap.* 895 *aggentius.* 923 *dicitur in loco.* *Ham. Praef.* 46 *duorum.* 62 *cadet.* 95 *non sint.* 107 *deos.* 786 *agresti aburitur.* *Ps.* 727 *in commune ualnis tranquillae plebis ad unum Sensibus in tuta ualli statione locatis Extrahitur (as Put.),* 752 *hoc habet.* 781 *cuncta.* 873 *uribus//artae.* *Symm.* 1. (497 *prodigia et laruas.*) *Symm.* 11. 143 *ignauiam trahere istam, underlined, and robusternatum etc. written above.* 326-8 *ceu quadrupes egit.* Mox *tenerum etc.* 474 *per amplum sub hoste Ingenium.* *Per.* v. 169 *hunc lacesse.* x. 222 *conantem.* 223 *spadonem.* 253 *promiscue.* 333 *pecuda.* 399 *hic.* xi. 9 *minuta.* 65 *excede.* 87 *hypolitus fiat ergo agitat 111 errore.* 161 *decurrunt celsis.* 162 *incaut.* xii. 32 *iustitia.* 54 *utrumque.* 68 *titubetque.* 86 *genit.* 90 *docmatis atque loci iussus genus edere christianus inquit Seruo.* 96 *abire.*

E. O. WINSTEEDT.

NOTES ON ROMAN BRITAIN.

(See *C.R. XVIII.*, Pp. 398 sq., 458 sqq.)

MR. McELDERRY'S 'Notes on Roman Britain' in the time of Domitian are interesting and suggestive, and form a pleasant change from the general style of many English writers on the subject. But I do not think they can all be taken as they stand:—

(1) *The establishment of a colonia at Lindum (Lincoln).*—It is probable enough on general grounds that this occurred in the latter part of the first century or very soon afterwards. But the *senum coloniae* of Tacitus (*Agr.* 32) is just as rhetorical a plural as the *aegra municipia* of the same sentence, which can only refer to the one known *municipium* of Britain, Verulam. The Mainz inscription of *M. Minicius M. fil. Quir. Lindo Martialis* (or *Marcellinus*), tribune or primipilus of the 22nd legion Primitigenia, gives no better proof. I have always hoped that Minicius might turn out British-born. But, on our present evidence, the chances are dead against it. It is not merely (as Mr. McElderry states in his postscript) that parallels can be quoted for eastern-born officers. It is that in the time of Septimius Severus (to which Minicius pretty certainly belongs) the Mainz inscriptions suggest that the *bulk* of the officers in this legion (as not improbably in others) were Orientals: 'wie es scheint, lauter Asiaten,' says one epigraphist. Earlier, the primipili and tribuni on the Rhine were generally Italian born, according to Prof. v. Domaszewski, and

Lincoln on either score is excluded. Nor is Lindus in Rhodes so unlikely. Men of the Quirine tribe occur there, though the tribe has of course no necessary connexion with the place, and I see no sort of reason why an officer should not have hailed from it about 200 A.D. as easily as from other attested Eastern sites.

(2) *Legio II adiutrix in Scotland.*—Personally, I believe the Camelon altar cited by Mr. McElderry to be a forgery. But it should be observed that, even if genuine, it cannot normally refer to this legion. The text is certain: the letters and stops plain, and the emendation of *A | DIE* into *A | D. P. F.* (easy enough in a MS.) will not do on a stone. If genuine, the altar refers to the Legio II A(ugusta). If forged, it may of course refer to anything.

(3) *Withdrawal of troops about A.D. 76.*—I do not think that the Baalbek inscription proves all that Mr. McElderry wants. It does not say that Vellius Rufus led his vexillations of eight (or nine) legions to Mauretania. Nor is such a view at all likely, though it has Mommsen's authority. The British legions were never employed for special service in Africa, and the Rhenish legions only in later times. Moreover, we have no record of trouble in Africa under Vespasian—though we have under Domitian. It seems preferable to connect the vexillations of Vellius with the legionary tiles of Mirebeau, seventeen miles N.E. of Dijon.

These tiles were found along with other tiles dating from about A.D. 88 and (though the site has not been properly explored) may be reasonably taken to be more or less coeval with them. The troops named on them belong to Upper Germany and Britain, and, while they do not suit the events of 70 (with which they are often connected), agree closely with the command of Velius. It is therefore probable, as Ritterling has suggested, that the tiles of Mirebeau and the operations of Velius were both connected with Domitian's wars against the Chatti in 83 and the following years. Velius afterwards, when stationed at Carthage, was sent to help in Mauretania.

The Batavian cohorts.—Here I am more inclined to agree with Mr. McElderry, and in one point perhaps to go further. If the last letters of *COX. IX. BA EQ. MIL EX P. B.* on the Weissenburg altar be explained as *ex provincia Britannia*, a very unusual description emerges. It is not common thus to 'specify the garrison-province.' But it might be justified if the cohort were fresh from Britain, only temporarily and perhaps accidentally at Weissenburg and still, in some sense, on the British army list. The draft of the Batavian cohorts to Germany is intelligible enough. These cohorts were originally connected with the Legio XIV Gemina and were withdrawn from the island with it and 'probably disbanded. The legion was replaced after A.D.

70 by the Legio II adiutrix; the original cohorts were equally replaced by other Batavian cohorts, and the two are connected like their predecessors. When the Legio II adiutrix goes to the continent, perhaps in 85 or 86, they go too. In this case the Weissenburg inscription may belong to that date, which it otherwise suits well enough. But whether the Carlisle fragment named the ninth Legion or the ninth Batavian Cohort is another matter. In either case it indicates an early occupation of Carlisle, presumably by Agricola.

(5) *The invasion of Ireland.*—I shall not discuss this weary subject. Discussion in print is indeed impossible, for the number of tiny details. Thus, Mr. McElderry quotes Prof. Gudeman's argument that the words *in aliam insulam* at the end of *Agr.* ch. 22 foretell the conquest of Ireland in ch. 23, and he adds that I have called the point too subtle. If I am to reply, I must reply that I have also said that, if there is anything at all in the argument, it applies as well to the description of Ireland in ch. 23 as it would to the alleged conquest. No one has yet shown that *in aliam insulam* looks on to *ignotae gentes* and not merely to the obvious mention of Ireland. But it would take a folio to argue on this scale. I shall only testify that Mr. McElderry's special pleading convinces me better than ever that Agricola did not invade Ireland.

F. HAVERFIELD.

NOTES.

ON EURIPIDES, *Orestes* 503-505.

νῦν δ' ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν δάμανον' ἥλθε μητέρι.
κακὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνδίκιας ἡγούμενος,
αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανών.

μητέρ' ἐγένετο Porson, 'more suo,' as Hermann once said of a transposition of his: and this is the only conjecture worthy of notice. It is difficult to say exactly why it displeases one: so I shall limit myself to proposal of my own remedy. That ἐγένετο should precede κτανών seems fairly certain: now μητέρα is superfluous and clumsy after μητέρι and αὐτὴν in the preceding lines, in fact αὐτὴν supplies the object to the second participle: μητέρα may well be a gloss to explain the construction of κτανών, or a deliberate addition. It could easily have slipped or been intruded into the line if the first word had been lost, as we know it could have been lost, from the following combination: κακῆς κακίων αὐτὸς ἐγένετο κτανών. The metrical critic who shifted αὐτὸς was like all who followed him down to the days of Porson, and did not boggle at the anapaest. The reading proposed makes 504 and 505 balance each other (κακῆς . . αὐτὴν = κακῆς . .

αὐτὸς), and the repetition κακῆς . . κακῆς gives additional force to κακίων.

C. J. BRENNAN.

* * *

ON AR. *Eg.* 347.

347 εἴ πον δικέδιον εἴπας εὖ κατὰ ξένον μετοίκου, . . .

350 φῶν δικατὸς εἴραι λέγειν. Ὡ μᾶρπε τῆς ἀνοίας.

The phrase ξένον μετοίκου has been long suspected. Neil indeed suggests a sense in which it is just possible, but admits that it is 'strange.' It is highly improbable that either word was an adscript to the other, and most attempts at correction have been based on the reasonable supposition that μετοίκου is sound, and κατὰ ξένον due to wrong division of the letters κατὰ-. Now the value of this type of emendation depends very largely on the sense or nonsense given by the words when wrongly divided. Thus, if Aristophanes had written κατὰ ἀξίον (Kaehter), it is not probable that a scribe would have put this into the absurd form κατὰ ξένον.

I suggest κατὰ ἀσθενοῦς μετοίκου. ἀσθενῆς is not

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'poor,' 'needy,' as in Eur. *Supp.* 433, *El.* 236, but 'of no influence,' with insistence on the literal negative sense. So in Eur. *El.* 267, where Electra gives the motive of Aegistheus in marrying her to a poor man, *τεκεῖν μ' ἔβαλετ' ἀσθενῆ, τοιῷδε δοὺς*; there *ἀσθενῆ* is not positive, 'weak,' but consciously negative, for *σθένως οὐδὲ ξυντά* (not influential enough to take vengeance).

Thus Cleon's contempt for such small triumphs is yet further accentuated. 'You fuss and worry and train (348-9) for a suit of no importance (*βασιλίων*), in which the defendant is not a citizen but a *μέτοικος*—and an obscure one at that!'

To plead against a Cephalus would have been no such simple matter.

H. SHARPLEY.

for all his sleek appearance the man's a common thief. Even the gold and silver at the mint is not safe from him, when his patroness (?) Laverna shows him that the clerks are off their guard.' If we could assume that, like his namesake the 'superpositus numulariorum' (Ellis, *Commentary on Catullus*, p. 84), the Thallus of this poem had also some special connection with the mint, my conjecture would approximate to certainty: but the supposition is not essential. In any case the diminutive element in the word is in keeping with the other diminutives in the piece, and it may have been from this passage that Catullus' admirer Martial took his 'otiosus numularius' (xii. 57, 8): the epithet certainly points that way.

D. A. SLATER.

ON CATULLUS, XXV. 5.

cum diua mulier aries† ostendit oscitantes.

In the new volume of the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* Professor Ellis has not admitted to the text any one of the innumerable conjectures which this line has provoked; while from his apparatus criticus he excludes all suggestions—such as (e.g.) the late Professor Palmer's 'cum diua muliūrū aues ostendit oscitantes'—which seek in the corrupt words some further description of the 'turbida procella' of line 4; rightly no doubt, for the storm is but a detail, the *pacifatā* Thallus is the point of the epigram. Is it possible that the line ought really to run thus:

'cum diua <nu> mularios ostendit oscitantes'?

The syllable *nu* might easily drop out before *mul* and the fragment *mul*- be mistaken for an abbreviation of *mulier*; when the *nox nihilī aries* would be liable to be changed, as in O and G, into *aries*, *alios*, or, even *aves*, at the pleasure of well-meaning scribes.

Thallus I take to be not a kleptomaniac but a thief. The tone of the whole piece is extremely bitter, and lines 10-11 are not jest but earnest. The general sense of lines 4-5 will then be: 'And yet (idemque)

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis.

The epithet *Archiacis* is traditionally referred to a cheap cabinet-maker named Archias, not otherwise known. Many years ago the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe suggested to me a different interpretation. He associated it with a story in Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*. Archias, governor of Thebes, received one day at dinner, when he had well drunk, a despatch from his namesake at Athens, giving full details of the conspiracy of Pelopidas, and put it aside with the words *ἐς αἴριον τὰ σπουδαῖα*, words which afterwards became proverbial. The story is repeated by Montaigne, and I have seen *à demain les affaires* quoted by a French author as if it were familiar to his readers. This interpretation accords with the whole tone of the letter, which is an invitation to Torquatus to a plain dinner with plenty of good wine, and speaks, in no veiled terms, of the advantage of excessive indulgence in it. Notice especially the concluding lines

rebus omissis

Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

The words *rebus omissis* read almost like a translation of *ἐς αἴριον τὰ σπουδαῖα*.

H. W. EVE.

REVIEWS.

KALBFLEISCH'S *GALEN DE CAUSIS CONTINENTIBUS*.

Galen, de causis continentibus libellus. A NICOLAO REGINO in sermonem latinum translatus. Primum edidit CAROLUS KALBFLEISCH. Marpurgi Chatorum Elwert bibl. acad. 1904. 4to. 24 pp. M. 1.20.

SPECIALISM may be narrow no doubt, but when it is so, the narrowness is in the specialiser, not in the things themselves. For instance, what labour could seem narrower or more otiose than an elaborate edition—a collated text and notes in abundance—of an obscure Latin translation of one of the many

lost tracts of Galen, a version which for more than 500 years 'latuit in umbraculis bibliothecarum'; a tract moreover which did not even belong to the medical writings of this too prolific master but to that philosophical, or sophistical, apparatus which he considered indispensable, as an introductory mental training and orientation, for every serious person embarking upon the study of Medicine. Not only is it thus with the original, but the translation is from the pen of a medieval physician of no great medical repute, one who, in the present

writer's opinion, modified—and could not in his day but modify—the original work by use of terms which changes in substance also.

I admit therefore that I turned to this edition in a somewhat idle spirit, as to a school exercise; but, observing the name of its Editor, I began to read, and having begun did not put the book down till I had read it two or three times. The Editor is more than justified not only in devoting to this tract his valuable time but also in saying in the Introduction 'insunt enim quae non modo grammaticis sed ne philosophis quidem aut medicis . . . negligenda esse putem.'

In the few paragraphs to be spared to me here I can do no more than indicate two or three of the aspects in which I found this book interesting; indeed to work out these features would require not only more space than is at my disposal but a profounder investigation and comparison of terms and methods than I could undertake at present.

It is well known that the larger part of the treatises of Galen were destroyed either in the fire in the Via Sacra in the reign of Commodus, or by the ravages of later times. By citations we know that among them was a tract entitled *Ἱερὶ τῶν συνεκτικῶν αἰτιῶν*, as contrasted with *αἰτιαὶ προκαταρκτικαὶ*; but before it disappeared—probably for ever—a translation had been made of it by Nicolas of Reggio who is well known to historians of Medicine as one of the teachers of Salerno in the fourteenth century, and as a member of that succession of benefactors who, by their translations of Greco-Arab and later, of Greek texts, forwarded the renascence of Medicine in the Middle Ages. Of these early scholars Constantine of Monte Cassino was one of the first, and Gerard of Cremona perhaps the most important. Nicolas of Reggio was working in the earlier part of the fourteenth century, and one of the MSS. on which Kalbfleisch depends (the other is at Dresden) is at Paris (Cat. codd. mss. bibl. reg. iv. p. 286 *sq.*); but we are not informed when it got there. The Paris MS. is of the fourteenth century, but as I have good reason to suppose that in the earlier years of this century there were few, perhaps only nine, medical MSS. in Paris, it is probable that this book reached Paris at some later date; perhaps after the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. In the history of ideas in the Middle Ages, comparative study of libraries—a study on which there is much work yet to be done—is of great importance. However where Nicolas got his original (lost) text we may guess fairly well, for we

have not to go farther than Haeser to learn that he was encouraged in the work of translation by King Robert of Sicily, who in his turn persuaded the Byzantine Emperor Andronicus to lend him original texts for this purpose. Unfortunately King Robert took the unusual course of returning the borrowed works; had he followed the ordinary course they might have been still in existence. Whether any Arab copies existed or not I find no information.

The next aspect of interest on which I can touch is in the work itself. The text is based upon these two MSS. of Paris and Dresden. Much of the editor's interpretation is supported by parallel passages in Galen's extant works. On these parallels, and internal evidences of date and the like, the notes are very full and effective; very wide and careful reading must have been expended upon this part of the edition. The Latin title 'De causis continentibus,' I would venture to translate into English: *Concerning comprehensive (wider or remoter) causes*—in distinction from the *προκαταρκτικαὶ* which, for the Hippocratic school at any rate, signified immediate causes. The contents are thus summarised in the Dresden MS.:—On the elements, their nature and combinations; On the three causes of disease, and their differences, according to Athenaeus; On the generation of natural bodies out of the elements, which do not mix, as ordinary matters do, but combine, so as to create new and distinct bodies; On the nature and conditions of such 'alteration'; On the invariability of cause; On the Pneuma as the cause of becoming; On *causae contentivae* in organised bodies, healthy and unhealthy; and so on. The reader who is versed in this kind of argument will recognise the return of the doctrine of the Pneuma in the schools of the later Stoics; especially as interpreted by Athenaeus of Attalia in Cilicia, who was known in Rome of the Julian period under the agnomen of 'Pneumaticus.' To the vast learning of Athenaeus we have Galen's testimony; and fragments of his writings are extant in Oribasius and Aetius. (Here I may refer to my article on 'Wellmann's *Die pneumatische Schule*', Berlin, 1895, in this Review, vol. X. p. 346.) To Athenaeus the pneuma was the world soul. The pulse, for example, was for him a working of the pneuma. His large conception of dietetics as mental as well as bodily edification, if no new conception to the Greeks, yet proves him to have been a broad-minded teacher. The word *alteratio* again will be noted as per-

taining not to the first but to the fourteenth century, and its meaning at that time may be best illustrated by its use to signify the change of substance in the Eucharist.

The causes contemplated in the tract are largely the formal—as opposed to the material and efficient; but without an analysis, section by section, it is almost impossible to give a comparative sketch of the thought; for these distinctions exist in thought only, and cannot well be demonstrated objectively. Moreover the very terms themselves changed in more than shades of meaning, from the first century to the times of the schoolmen. And herein

lies another kind of interest in this little book—that to which I alluded in the first paragraph of this notice—namely, in the ways in which Greek thought is converted, as a perusal of this edition makes evident enough, into the terms of the scholastic philosophies of the fourteenth century. It is difficult to say whether the substantial identity of human thought in divers epochs or the dissolving views of its re-emergent forms are the more curious. For even such ontological controversy as this can never lose its interest as a chapter of the long history of ideas in the human mind.

T. CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

KLOSTERMANN'S *ONOMASTIKON* OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, Onomastikon. Herausgegeben von DR. ERICH KLOSTERMANN. Hinrichs: Leipzig, 1904. Pp. xxxvi, 207. M. 8.

THIS volume forms one of the series of Greek patristic texts published under the auspices of the 'Kirchenväter-Commission' of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The material for this geographical dictionary of the Bible, as one might call it, is naturally drawn mainly from the Septuagint and Hexapla; but, as the editor points out, Eusebius is probably indebted also to official maps and route-books, such as must have been procurable at the provincial capital, Caesarea, as well as to private sources of information and his own personal observation: occasionally, too, he makes reference to Josephus's *Archaeology*. For the constitution of the text the chief authority is a Vatican Codex of the twelfth century, of which Vallarsi (1735) was the first editor to make use, previous editors having relied solely on the Paris cod. 464 (sixteenth century), which is merely a late copy of the Vatican. In addition to these and some minor codices we have to take account of a considerable number of extracts from the *Onomasticon* in writers such as Procopius of Gaza; and above all, of the Latin translation by Jerome. Jerome's rendering is especially valuable in that it enables us to supply the substance of a number (circ. 46) of lacunae in the Greek.

In the printing of the text Dr. Klostermann, like the older editors, sensibly puts the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, or rather pages, instead of adopting the clumsy

fashion set by his immediate predecessor, Lagarde (ed.¹ 1870, ed.² 1887), of placing the Latin under the Greek. Thus we are enabled to see at a glance where the two authorities differ. A comparison of the two shows us that Jerome frequently adds explanatory glosses of his own, which the editor generally marks by italics. In some cases, however, this convenient practice is omitted. Thus, it is not obvious why part of the Latin account of *Gedud* (p. 73) should be italicized, while equally plain glosses in the note on *Ger*, on the same page, are not so printed. So too with the statement 'Rabbath Moab, id est grandis Moab' (p. 125, l. 15), where the last words are an etymological gloss of the regular kind. It is also a matter of regret that the editor generally withdraws all comment on minor points where the Latin deviates from the Greek. We find, for example (p. 33, l. 10), 'est hodieque villa' over against *καὶ ἔστι κώμη*, whereas the usual equivalent would be *καὶ <εἰς ἔτι νῦν> ἔστι κ.* So too (p. 168, l. 29) *καὶ οἱ οὐ δῆλαχοῦ τοῦ λαξευτοῦ* is rendered by 'sed et Septuaginta interpres Fasga in quodam loco excisum transtulerunt,' which raises two questions, (1) is *in quodam loco* intended for *δῆλαχοῦ*, and (2) does not 'sed et' imply *δὲ καὶ*, or the like? These are but specimens of phenomena which probably occur on every other page; and they seem to demand a thorough investigation in order to determine how far such deviations are due merely to carelessness on the part of the translator and how far they may be taken to indicate corruption in the Greek.

codices. We need to arrive at some general principle which will guide us in deciding, e.g., whether or not we should insert in the Greek text *πρὸς ἀνατολάς* to correspond to 'ad orientem vergens' (p. 97, l. 11), or *πρὸς νότον* for 'contra australem plagam' (p. 35, l. 19; 99, l. 27); but I cannot find that the present editor anywhere attempts to supply us with such a principle. It may be suggested, further, that students of the text would have welcomed a hypothetical restoration of the Greek in the case of larger lacunae where the Latin supplies the sense. One such restoration, by Villarsi, is worth quoting: the Latin (p. 153, l. 15) is 'Segor, quae et Bala et Zoara, una de quinque civitatibus Sodomorum, ad preces Lot de incendio reservata,' for which V. writes Σεγώρη την καὶ

Βαλὰ καὶ Ζορά, τῆς πενταπόλεως Σοδόμων, ἡ Δῶτρ εὐχόντος (!) σωθεῖσα. Here, besides correcting the grammar, I should propose the insertion of *μία* before *τῆς* (comparing the notes on 'Αδαμά, p. 8; Τομορρά, p. 60; Ζεγέρα, p. 94); and I should question whether 'ad preces...reservata' is anything more than a Hieronymian gloss.

These, however, are but minor criticisms on a piece of editing which is marked by a high degree of erudition and care. In addition to full indexes of names and Biblical references, the correctness of which I have tested, the volume is furnished with an excellent map of Palestine, to correspond to the *Onomasticon*. The only misprint I have observed is on p. 169, l. 17, 'quaedem.'

R. G. BURY.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE *THEOPHANIA* OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, Theophanie: die Griechischen Bruchstücke und Übersetzung der Syrischen Überlieferungen herausgegeben von Dr. HUGO GRESSMANN. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1904. Pp. xxx + 272. M. 9.50.

THE *Theophania* of Eusebius, one of the chief works of the great Church historian, was intended as a more or less popular commendation of Christianity to the heathen world. It was long supposed to be irrecoverably lost, but a Syriac translation turned up among the Nitrian MSS now in the British Museum, and this was edited by Dr. Samuel Lee in 1842. About the same time Cardinal Mai discovered some extracts from the original Greek embedded in a Vatican *Catena* on S. Luke and on the Epistle to the Hebrews. These extracts Dr. Gressmann has now re-edited, together with a German rendering of the whole *Theophania* from the Syriac.

The Syriac version must have been made not very long after the publication of the original, for our MS is actually dated 411 A.D.¹ The version is slavishly literal in style, so much so as to be frequently quite incomprehensible. But this quality of literalness is of course extremely useful when we try to reconstruct the Greek

¹ The concluding leaf of B.M. Add. 12150, containing the colophon, was missing when Dr. Lee wrote, but it is now bound up in its place, as Dr. Gressmann ought to have known (Wright's Catalogue, p. 633a).

original, a process which is often possible owing to the method of composition which Eusebius habitually adopted. In fact, as soon as the Syriac came to light it was recognised that we had to do with an old friend in a new dress. Eusebius had no scruple at all about repeating himself, and fully half, if not more, of the *Theophania* is to be found word for word in one or other of his erudite and voluminous works. Thus of the five books of the *Theophania*, nearly all the fifth is taken from the third book of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and large portions of the first three books are identical with the second part of the theological Oration known as *De Laudibus Constantini*. It is therefore possible by means of these extensive parallels to gauge the accuracy and to tabulate the methods of the Syriac translator, so that we can obtain a fair idea of what he read before him in those parts where no Greek parallel is now extant. Dr. Gressmann has quite justifiably attempted to give in his German translation a reconstruction of the original rather than a mere echo of the Syriac, e.g. in *Theoph.* v. 48 (p. 254).²

With regard to the question of the chronological order of the various Eusebian writings, Dr. Gressmann raises in his *Introduction*, pp. xiii-xx, a question of some

² On pp. 195, 197 (*Theoph.* iv. 20) it is surely a mistake to emend *baddið dam'ðitta*, i.e. 'suburbs,' in the face of the example cited in Brockelmann's *Lexicon*, p. 3b.

importance in literary criticism. That the *Demonstratio* and *Praeparatio* are earlier than the *Theophania* and that the *Theophania* borrows from them is certain: in fact, Eusebius mentions the *Demonstratio* by name at the end of the fourth book. But it is otherwise with the *Laus Constantini*, and Dr. Gressmann brings forward some very strong reasons why we should regard the second part of the *Laus* as later than the *Theophania*. The interesting part about his theory is that he admits the superiority of arrangement in the *Laus* to that in the *Theophania*. As a rule it seems to be assumed in literary discussions that the original arrangement of a writer's material is sure to be superior to any later use that may be made of them. But this need not always be the case, and Dr. Gressmann suggests that the necessity for compressing and arranging the diffuse and unwieldy

elaboration of the *Theophania* into something suitable for a sermon preached at Court actually led to a more artistic result. 'Eusebius hat es nicht übel verstanden, seine frühere viel zu weitschweifige und darum teilweis langweilige Arbeit so zu kürzen und stylistisch zu glätten, dass sie das Interesse des grossen Laien [i.e. Constantine] wohl zu erwecken vermochte' (p. xix).

Whatever view may ultimately be taken about this or any other of the special questions connected with the *Theophania* there is no doubt that Dr. Gressmann deserves our gratitude for his lucid and intelligent treatment of the Eusebian writings. It is right to add in conclusion that his book is furnished with admirable Indices, both of authors quoted in the *Theophania* and of the Biblical citations, as well as lists of Proper Names and of Greek words.

F. C. BURKITT.

GREEN'S ODES OF HORACE.

The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace.
Translated by the Rev. W. C. GREEN.
Digby Long and Co., 1904. 12mo.
Pp. 138. 3s. 6d.

THE influence of Horace on our English literature is not so generally known as it ought to be. Yet Dr. Philip Francis (father of the celebrated Sir Philip Francis), in an appendix to his excellent translation, records the names of no less than eighty authors who have attempted to translate into English verse portions of the Odes, Satires, or Epistles.

Of the poets in this list are named as those best known: Ben Jonson, Cowley, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Chatterton, Byron; there might have been added Cowper, Leigh Hunt, Procter (Barry Cornwall), Rowe, and the two Wartons. B. ii. Ode x. has found a worthy translator in Sir Philip Sidney: Sir William Temple (B. ii. Ode xiii.) represents diplomacy, and a special interest is added to the translation of B. ii. Ode xvi. by the fact that it was written by Warren Hastings 'on his passage from Bengal to England in 1785.'

Of living scholars few have a better right than Mr. Green to undertake this task. A ripe scholar of the Eton and Cambridge School, Mr. Green was second in the Classical Tripos of 1855, Craven University

Scholar, 1855, and for three successive years, 1852-3-4, he carried off Sir W. Browne's Gold Medal for the best Greek and Latin Epigrams of those years—a threefold honour which, I believe, Mr. Green alone has achieved. We need, therefore, feel no surprise that Mr. Green with this special taste for epigram, in addition to his general scholarship, of which he has given many proofs, has produced a metrical version of the Odes which is not unworthy of a high place among the best efforts of scholars past and present.

Mr. Green claims the right of varying his metres to suit the corresponding moods rather than the metres of the poet; but if one judges by results, one cannot always agree with him in his choice of metres. He rings the changes on the 'In Memoriam' metre somewhat too liberally to please all tastes. Thus the first line has sometimes 5 feet, e.g. B. ii. Ode xiv.: 'Ah, Postumus they glide away, away,' sometimes 4 feet, e.g. B. ii. Ode xv.: 'Our palaces will scarce a field,' sometimes 3 feet, e.g. B. iii. Ode iii.: 'The man of righteous will,' and the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th lines are subjected to the same variations. Most of us will like or dislike these changes as our 'ear' influences us. To the writer it seems that the stanzas ending with a long line are to be preferred to those beginning with a long line and ending with a short

line, which seems not to sustain the dignity of the stanza to the end. The conclusion that he has come to, by comparing some of Mr. Green's versions with those of Dr. Francis and the late Lord Derby, is that Mr. Green is seen at his best (and his best is very good) in the short and more simple metres. Apart from the effect produced on the ear by long lines which 'labour' and the words of which 'move slow,' there is a danger of superfluous words and phrases finding their way in to make up the feet wanted. The necessity of finding a rhyme also seems sometimes to be the cause of a weak line.

In B. i. Ode iii. 'loud and long' has no place in the Latin and seems inserted only to finish the line, and to find a rhyme to 'strong' in the 4th line. In B. i. Ode xxxi. we have 'rich merchant wight,' where 'wight' serves only to finish the line and supply a rhyme. In B. i. Ode vii. 'Rills that ever move' finds a rhyme for 'grove,' but does not rightly render 'mobilibus,' which Dr. Francis more correctly translates by 'ductile.' For no other reason can 'Infames scupulos Acroceraunia,' B. i. Ode iii. be translated 'those ill rocks that Thunder-peaks we call,' and in B. i. Ode ii. ('mountains tall') the strange epithet 'tall' would not have been applied to 'mountains' if it had not been required as a rhyme.

The word 'withal' often does the double duty of finding a rhyme and a foot to finish the line, e.g. :

B. i. Ode i.

'Many love camps, their mingled call
Clarion and trump, and wars withal
Which mothers hate.'

B. i. Ode vi.

'I touch them not, I small;
Me modesty, and a peaceful muse withal
Forbid,' etc.

and B. iii. Ode i.

'Comes the proud lord withal
Weary of land.'

Again in B. ii. Ode xiv.

'Ah, Postumus, they glide away, away.'

The repetition of the word 'away' seems to be intended to represent the 'Postume, Postume' of the original, but fails to do so if Orelli's explanation is accepted: 'In appellations iterata haec inest vis "Probe, quae, expendi ac recogita quae dicam."'

One prefers Lord Derby's *ἀναδίπλωσις*: 'Alas, my Postumus, alas,' etc.

These and similar slips are not serious,

and in a new edition could easily be corrected by a little of the 'limae labor et mora' so needed by the best translations of so finished a poet as Horace; at present they detract a little from the enjoyment of not a few stanzas that otherwise would be faultless.

Mr. Green is not free from mannerisms, some of which are not unpleasing; yet the process of weeding is often called for.

The articles are often omitted; thus, in B. i. Ode i.

'Plough with keel Euboan wave,'
we miss 'the.'

B. ii. Ode xvi.

'The spite and harm
Of vulgar crowd.'

B. i. Ode xxii.

'Sweet laugh, sweet voice of Lalage,
Still will I love.'

B. iii. Ode iii.

'Laomedon robbed gods of promised fee.'

Here one misses the article twice, and therefore prefers Dr. Francis:

'Mocked the defrauded gods and robb'd them of
their hire.'

Inverted constructions and involved sentences are of too frequent occurrence, e.g. :

B. iii. Ode vi.

'Ancestral guilt a guiltless child,
Roman, thou wilt atone.'

B. i. Ode iii.

'Aeolus who prison'd tight
Shall bind his windy sons all save the West.'

'Prison'd,' of course, refers to the winds, but from its position would seem to refer to Aeolus.

Mr. Green's English sometimes reads more like Latin than ordinary English, e.g. B. iii. Ode iii. 'splendet' is rendered 'flaunts him bright' and 'invisum nepotem' ... 'grandchild of my hate.'

So in B. iii. Ode ii.

'Who goes before
Crime-stained, him vengeance sore
Seldom, tho' late, hath left.'

and in B. i. Ode xiii.

'Him hope thou not still true
(Mark well my words) who barbarously pains,' etc.

When 'Hope not he will stay true' would, perhaps, be better. But I feel my presumption in venturing to mark these occasional peculiarities, which to some ears will have a

quaint and classical ring about them ; the same judgment applies to occasional words and expressions, e.g. 'Weapon-game' (B. i. Ode viii.), 'Twy-formed' (B. ii. Ode xx.), 'leg-bones' (B. ii. Ode xx.), 'air-way' (B. i. Ode iii.), 'down-slide,' 'make him happy die' (B. i. Ode xxvii.), 'otherwhence,' 'spilth of wine' (B. ii. Ode xiv.), is Shakespearean (*Timon of Athens*, ii. sc. 2), but 'spilth' is not an attractive word, nor do 'T'attest,' 't'entwine,' 'Thoul't,' please the eye or the ear.

In B. iv. Ode ii. 'Watery Tiber's groves' is clearly a misprint for 'Tibur's.' In the same Ode 'gives praise' scarcely gives the force of 'dicit,' which contrasts the living voice (*vox viva*) of the poet with the dumb praise of statues,—the 'infantes statuae' of ii. Sat. v. 40.

In B. i. Ode i.

Mountains of money move him not,
Timorous to be a sailor brave'

seems to miss the irony of 'pavidus'; you cannot bribe him to become (not a brave sailor, that would be impossible, but even) a timid sailor. Were it not for the word 'timorous' one might have supposed that Mr. Green had adopted the reading 'impavidus' of which Orelli very properly writes, 'Qui substitui voluerunt "impavidus" antithetorum vim et poetae sensum non percepserunt.' When, however, Orelli describes 'pavidus' as a 'frequens nautarum epitheton,' even the Baltic fleet would repudiate the epithet as true of all sailors; nor is Orelli's explanation of 'pavidus' as meaning 'periculis semper expositus.' I am afraid that the epithet 'brave' has been introduced as providing 'wave' in the next line with a rhyme.

As specimens of Mr. Green's successful translations, I give two, to which many more might be added :

B. ii. Ode vi.

'That spot, those happy hills, they bid thee wend
Thither with me. There thou, when comes the end,
On the warm ashes of thy poet friend
Shalt duly shed a tear.'

and B. ii. Ode ix.

'Not always do the cloud-born rains
Stream down upon the miry plains,
Nor fitful storms the Caspian sea
Vex always with their tyranny,
Nor on Armenia's shore,
Friend Valgus, stands the dead dull show
Year-long, nor lab'ring bend them low
Garganian oaks to northern blast
Always, nor leaves down-falling fast
Doth widow'd ash deplore.'

Mr. Green's version of B. i. Ode xxiv. also well expresses the tender pathos of the original, and B. i. Ode xxx., a graceful little Ode, is gracefully rendered. Graceful also is Mr. Green's version of B. iii. Ode xviii., though as elsewhere one misses the article, and 'digger's toes' adds yet another to the lines that have suffered for the sake of a rhyme.

There remains the pleasing task of thanking and congratulating Mr. Green on his good work done in a good cause. To translate a selected and small number of the Odes of Horace, as did the late Lord Derby, must have been to a scholar of his calibre an agreeable pastime; to face all the Odes, attractive or unattractive alike, as Dr. Francis, Mr. Green, and some others have done, is a far more arduous undertaking.

One must not omit to mention the 'Apologia' which Mr. Green has written to justify his position as a translator of Horace. No such 'Apologia' was needed, but it imparts an additional charm to the volume, being as conspicuous for its elegance of diction as it is for its modesty of feeling.

He has added one more name to the list of those who have found in the serious studies of their youth a delightful recreation of their advanced years. Nor will he, we feel confident (however much the Philistine may rage), be the last to illustrate the truth of Cicero's words, 'Haec studia pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.'

E. W. BOWLING.

HOSIUS' GELLIUS.

A. Gelli Noctium Atticarum libri XX: post Martinum Hertz edidit CAROLUS HOSIUS. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig. 1903. Vol. I., pp. lxiv., 378; Vol. II., pp. 372. Vol. I. 3s. 6d., Vol. II. 3s. 2d.

NO. CLXV. VOL. XIX.

THE earlier Latin authors are receiving a good deal of attention at present. New editions of Ennius (by Vahlen), of Lucilius (by Marx), of Varro's *Menippaeum Satires* (by Buecheler) have followed each other in quick succession; and of the grammarians

who preserve these fragments of early literature, Nonius and Gellius have been re-edited and a Teubner edition of Varro's *de Lingua Latina* is being prepared by Goetz and Schoell.

The new Teubner text of Gellius is an abridgment of Hertz's large edition (Berlin, 1883-5). The cumbrous *apparatus criticus* (with the Supplement published by Kuhn in 1894) has been reduced to compact and convenient shape, a reduction which will doubtless in time be imitated in the case of all the larger critical editions of classical authors. Once that the history of a text's tradition has been traced with certainty, editors should discard the separate MSS. and confine themselves to archetypes. To mention a copy's divergence from the archetype's reading, unless the variant is expressly stated to be a *lapsus calami* or a mediaeval monk's conjectural emendation, is merely to obscure the evidence submitted to the reader's judgment and to encourage the unsound argument which was once in fashion: 'So-and-so may be the right reading, for it is found in this-or-that codex and therefore has manuscript authority.' As if a scribe's blunder had any more authority than a misprint or a Carolingian abbot's emendation were likely to be better than a modern scholar's!

The possibility of the discovery of new MSS. of the *Noctes Atticae*, or of marginal collations of lost MSS., does not seem to be quite remote. In particular the readings of the lost *codex Buslidianus* (the only MS. known to have contained the whole work) may at any moment be unearthed from marginalia inscribed in some sixteenth

century printed text, and students in foreign libraries should be on the look out. They must, however, bear in mind that marginal citations of the *codex Buslidianus* may have originated in Carrio's published account of its readings. Thus in Nicholas Heinsius' copy of Gellius (in the Bodleian Library, with press-mark 'Linc. 8.^o F. 79') the marginal note on XVII. ii. 16 *figuratio*] 'ita Buslid. lib. Vulgo figura,' is of no importance, for there are other marginal references to Carrio. The 'v(etus) c(odex)' whose collation occupies the greater portion of the marginalia seems to agree with the earlier printed editions (Hertz's *e*, *e.g.* I. vii. 2 *antea adierant*] 'antea didicerant.'

But Hosius' edition is not by any means a mere re-arrangement of Hertz's materials. As was to be expected from so distinguished a scholar, there are many improvements of the text.¹ And there is an excellent Introduction in which Gellius' sources are enumerated with a full discussion of the question whether the 'Noctes Atticae' furnishes (like Nonius' 'Compendiosa Doctrina') clues to the true arrangement of the Republican literary fragments. The answer is in the negative, as might be expected from Gellius' own account (which Hosius' investigations confirm) of the composition of his work (N.A. Praef. 2, 11 *sqq.*). When will scholars abandon the foolish habit of preferring to disbelieve, rather than believe, what an ancient author expressly tells us?

W. M. LINDSAY.

¹ The student will find some more in Heraeus' careful review of the new edition (in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* of Sep. 10).

HALE AND BUCK'S *LATIN GRAMMAR*.

A Latin Grammar. By W. G. HALE and C. D. BUCK. Ginn and Co., Boston, U.S.A., and London. Pp. xi + 388. 1903. 4s. 6d.

It is difficult within the limits of a brief review to do justice to a book like this. It is the joint product of the work of two eminent scholars, one of them probably the foremost Latinist of the United States; and it represents an enormous amount of thought and labour. Yet it raises grave doubts whether, with all its merits of

accurate work and refined scholarship and its suggestiveness to the advanced scholar, it is likely as a whole to serve the purpose for which it is intended. It is designed to cover the field of 'High School Latin' and to be limited thereto, that is, it is a book for the use of boys and girls of from 14 or 15 to 18 or 19 years of age. For this purpose the Syntax seems to the present reviewer too cumbrous and difficult to understand, if at least the first object of a school grammar should be to lead to a practical mastery of the language concerned

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—a desideratum which is by no means inconsistent with a scientific method of treatment.

The Phonology and Accidence seem excellent, and are limited to the modest dimensions of 120 pages. The treatment is scientific, and, what is better, based on that kind of science which makes for simplicity. Many sections contain points which are novel in a school grammar and suggestive, e.g. § 29 on the rule of position, with § 14 on syllable division; § 25 on the quantity of final syllables is simple and sound; § 39 contains excellent hints on pronunciation. It goes without saying in a book designed for American schools that the system strangely called 'the new pronunciation' in this country is the one adopted. The only suggestion I have to make is that words like 'shadow' (as pronounced in such a line as 'And friends and foes were shadows in the mist') might be preferable to 'at home' as an illustration of the pronunciation of iambic words like *āmō*.

The outstanding feature of the Syntax is an elaborate classification of the uses of forms on an historical basis, and particularly in the light of the corresponding phenomena of Greek. The main categories of the subjunctive set up in this book (§ 462) are no less than fourteen in number. Apart from the question whether they are all scientifically justifiable, is it possible or desirable that a pupil should try to hold fourteen main categories of this mood in his head, so as to be able to refer any instance which he comes across in his reading to its appropriate heading? Opinions will no doubt differ. The authors hold that 'the addition of categories will at a number of points be found to make for simplicity': that is, that the distinctions of meaning laid down will make for clearness of conception. These fourteen categories are (§ 462) the 'Volitive,' the 'Anticipatory' (these being derived from an original subjunctive), the 'Optative,' the Subjunctives of 'obligation or propriety,'¹ of 'natural likelihood,' of 'possibility,' of

'ideal certainty' (these being traced to an original optative), and seven other kinds which are traced to the fusion of two or more constructions into one or to analogy. What the elements are which are fused is not stated (§ 520 ff.), so that the pupil has no means of seeing how, for example, the subjunctive of 'actuality' comes into existence. Among this latter class is a subjunctive of 'request or entreaty' distinct from the 'volitive' and from the 'optative' of the first seven. What is the difference? Only that which may be found between *iam accipiat*, *hunc ducat* (§ 530, request or entreaty) and *secedant improbi* (§ 501. 3, command), *sint beati* (§ 511. 1, wish). Another category (No. 12) is the subjunctive of 'consent or indifference,' e.g. *fiat* in the sense 'so be it' (§ 531), as distinct from *fiat* 'let it be done.' Yet surely both belong to the larger unity of the jussive.

These fourteen main categories are subdivided, so as to produce in § 499 over sixty headings. Thus the Volitive Subj. involves seven different kinds of independent sentence, and nine different kinds of dependent clause. This multiplication of categories is due partly to a principle which is in itself undoubtedly sound and scientific, namely the treatment of the subordinate mood constructions in immediate connexion with the independent constructions to which they are related. The difficulty of carrying this out in practice is that at each point one is called upon to say which exactly of a number of independent constructions is *the* one in question. The result is that the unity of the subordinate group is broken up. For example the substantive clauses introduced by *ut* or *ne* are here distributed according to the character of the verb on which they depend—verbs of 'will or endeavour' (§ 502. 3), verbs of 'wishing, desiring, etc.' (§ 511. 2), verbs like *oportet* (§ 513. 5), verbs of 'requesting, begging, imploring, etc.' (§ 530. 2), verbs of 'consent, acquiescence, or indifference' (§ 531. 2)—on the ground that the subordinate subjunctive is in the first case a 'volitive subjunctive,' in the second an 'optative subjunctive,' in the third a 'subj. of obligation or propriety,' in the fourth a 'subj. of request or entreaty,' in the fifth a 'subj. of consent or indifference.' Yet the logical difference between the subjunctives in *volo ut facias*, *opto ut facias*, *oportet* or *censeo ut facias*, *oro ut facias*, *permitto ut facias* is a vanishing quantity, as indeed the note on p. 284 partially recognizes. Is it desirable to try to create a consciousness of any such distinction at

¹ The distinction between *quid Romae faciam* (§ 503) and *quid te invitem?* (§ 513. 1) is unnaturally magnified by calling the first a 'volitive subjunctive in questions of deliberation or perplexity' and the second a 'subj. of obligation or propriety.' The difficulty that 'there is no shade of deliberation' in the latter might be simply met by abolishing the term 'deliberative' altogether, as really too narrow, and recognizing that in both cases the subj. expresses what ought to be (or is to be) done. The negative is, of course, *non* in both cases.

all? However this may be, it is impossible to carry out this principle of classification completely, as the authors recognize in their note on § 511 (foot of p. 269); *utinam sit beatus* would on this principle have to be separated from *sit beatus*, the former containing a 'potential,' the latter an 'optative' subjunctive.

The treatment of the Imperative in § 496 is a great contrast to that of the Subjunctive. The Imperative, too, as is here fully recognized, passes from 'peremptory command' to 'advice or suggestion,' 'consent or indifference,' 'request or entreaty,' 'prayer,' e.g. *dic sodes; audi Iuppiter*. But no elaborate schematization is thought necessary in this case; and the question arises, why should not the unity of the subjunctive be recognized if not to the same yet to some extent? The parallelism of the Subj. and the Imperat. is indeed striking, extending as it does even to interrogative uses: cf. *cur non moriaris?* with *quin morere?* (The treatment, by the bye, of *quin* with the Imperative in § 496. b takes no account of my article in this review on Interrogative Commands.)

But the tendency to multiplication of categories is again shown in the treatment of the Gerundive. The authors treat the forms in *-ndus, a, um* as future participles passive; but (unlike Weisweiler, I think) they recognize also a 'gerundive' as something different. Thus in § 605. 2 *hos Haedus custodiendos tradit* is put down to the fut. part. pass., but in § 612 *pontem in Arari faciendum curat* to the gerundive, on the ground that here 'the leading idea is carried out by the grammatically subordinate word *faciendum*'. What would the authors do with *aedem Castoris habuit tuendam*, which stands, as it were, with a leg in both categories? On this principle we ought to distinguish not merely two uses of a form but also two forms in *post urbem conditam* and *post urbem* (behind the city) *a defensoribus relictam*? The name future part. pass. is no doubt attractive, though there is something to be said for 'present or future' part. pass. (Cf. note on § 600, b, foot of p. 324); but whether we adopt a significant name or a mere label, like 'gerundive,' it ought to be adhered to for all uses. Another illustration of the tendency to over-refinement is the distinction between 'Attributives' and 'Appositives' in §§ 317-319. How can a hard and fast line of demarcation be set up between *Caesar consul* = 'Caesar—he was at the time consul' and *Bibuli consulis amphora* 'of the consul Bibulus,' or between

regina Pecunia 'our lady Money' (§ 319. ii. a) and *rex Tarquinius* 'king Tarquin' (which, I suppose, would be admitted to contain an Attribute)?

It is hazardous and perhaps presumptuous to criticise the methods of so experienced a teacher as Professor Hale. And it is highly probable that many schoolmasters brought up in the school of research in which he is a leader will find this just the book for their purpose. I, too, welcome many features of it with sincere approval, for instance, the treatment of the present indicative expressing 'resolve,' etc. (§ 571), and the future indicative with similar senses (§ 572).¹ The 'anticipatory' or, as I prefer to call it, the 'prospective' subjunctive receives full discussion (§§ 506-509),² and is treated as a development of the subj. of will (§ 459a); to it are referred such clauses as *quin supplicium sumat* depending on *non dubitare* (§ 507. 2. b), instead of the more usual *sumpturus sit* (cf. § 521. 3. b, to which a cross-reference might have been given), indirect questions like *quid consili caperent* = dependent on *expectabat*, clauses with *antequam, dum*, etc.

Possibly in a future edition the authors may reconsider their classification of sentences and clauses as (i) declarative, (ii) conditional or assumptive, (iii) interrogative or exclamatory. The first runs the command and the statement into one, and the third would be better subdivided. The second introduces subordinate clauses (e.g. *si venit*, and *si veniat*) into a classification which would be better limited to independent sentences. The distinction between questions and exclamations is useful at any rate in their dependent forms, e.g. *viden ut geminae stant vertice cristae* (§ 537 g). The treatment of *nonne* (§ 231. 1. c) is old-fashioned. There are really three interrogative particles in Latin, but *nonne* is not one of them: *nonne audis?* is simply a negative question, introduced by *-ne*. No account is here taken of *an*, which is relegated to 'absurd questions' (§ 236); but absurd questions are still questions. The terminology of § 534. 2 (on Indirect Discourse) ought also to be re-considered: questions and commands are not 'subordinate clauses' in Indirect Discourse,

¹ Here I miss an example like *cras donaberis haedo* 'you shall be presented' = I will present you.

² I doubt, however, whether the 'shall' of § 507. 1 ought to be described as equivalent to a 'will,' e.g. in the translation of *famam qui terminat astris* 'who shall (= will) make the stars the boundary of his fame.'

like the clauses introduced by *quod, si*, etc.; they are principal clauses (or principal sentences, as they would be called in this book) on just the same level as the 'principal statements' spoken of in § 534. 1 (ex-

pressed by the *Accus.* with *Infin.*). This serious defect of terminology is probably only an oversight.

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BRIEFER NOTICES.

Plato gegen Sokrates. Interpretationen
von DR. ERNST HORNEFFER. Teubner:
Leipzig, 1904. Pp. 82.

THE German programm-writer is nothing if not paradoxical. To fly the flag of heresy is a sure way of attracting attention. And what could be more heretical than to accuse Plato of anti-Socraticism? This, accordingly, is what Dr. Horneffer has set himself to do. His treatise consists of an elaborate analysis of those Platonic dialogues—*Hippias Minor*, *Laches*, and *Charmides*—carried out so as to demonstrate to the author's complete satisfaction that the aim of all these dialogues is to overthrow the Socratic doctrine 'Virtue is Knowledge.' Thus, in the *Hippias Minor*, both the argument of the first section (363A-369B), concluding with the words *ἀναπέδαντι ὁ αὐτὸς ὁν ψεύδεις τε καὶ δληθής κ.τ.λ.*, and the arguments of the second section, resulting in the proposition *ἀμείνονος οἱ ἔκοντες η οἱ ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνοντες*, appear to be of the kind known as *reductio ad absurdum*; and the absurdity thus rejected is, according to Dr. Horneffer, none other than the Socratic dictum 'Tugend ist Wissen.' Support for this interpretation is also found in the 'Einkleidung' of the dialogue—in the antitheses between Achilles (ὁ ἀπλοῦς) and Odysseus (ὁ πολύτροπος) and between Hippias, the 'polymath,' and Socrates. That the *Hippias Minor* contains controversial allusions to Antisthenes, as suggested by Dümmler, H. refuses to admit; rather, he supposes, it was Antisthenes who in opposition to Plato wrote a vindication of the character of Odysseus.

The *Laches* and *Charmides* are treated on similar lines: the Socratic elements in both are emphasized, and the point of each is made out to be the same, viz. the denial of the ethical premiss of Socrates.

The obvious objection to this whole line of interpretation is that in later dialogues Plato appears to adopt the Socratic position; so that Dr. Horneffer is forced to

admit that the *Hippias Minor*, etc., as he interprets them, are 'freilich mit den späteren Hauptwerken Platons nicht in Einklang zu bringen.' But H., like Grote, insists on construing each dialogue by itself; and rather than credit Plato with a 'system,' he prefers apparently to credit him with any amount of inconsistency. For my part, I prefer to believe to the uttermost in 'the Unity of Plato's thought,' as a talented Platonist has recently described it in a work that may be commended to Dr. Horneffer's attention. That Socrates should be made the agent of his own dialectical destruction is another *σκάνδαλον* in the interpretation here proposed; but it is lightly set aside with the remark that the dialogues are 'völlig freie Dramen.' That 'Aristoteles gegen Platon' gained the reputation of a kicking foal we have long known: now it appears that it was, after all, but a just Nemesis which befall the 'Platon gegen Sokrates.'

R. G. BURY.

Pseudacronis Scholia in Horatium Vetusiora
recensuit OTTO KELLER. Vol. I. Schol.
in Carmina et Epodos; Vol. II. Schol.
in Sermones, Epistulas, Artemque Poetica.
(Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum
et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Leipzig,
1902-4. Pp. xiii. + 480 and xvi. + 512. 21s.

THE current edition of these *Scholia* by Hauthal (Berlin, 1864) was known to be unsatisfactory. The painstaking and thorough labour of Prof. Keller has now provided us once for all with the best available text and the fullest available information regarding them. Though not of equal importance with the *Porphyriion Scholia* (edited by Holder, 1894), they are not without interest; and an accurate edition of them was necessary in order that no part of the traditional interpretation of Horace's poems might remain out of the reach of students. How much of this commentary comes from ancient sources, and

how much originated in mediaeval times is not always easy to determine. Such clues as are to be found are mentioned by Keller in his *Introduction* and in a recently published article 'Zu Pseudacron,' in which he defends some of his emendations of the text.

To attempt to criticize a work of this

description would be impertinence. We can only express our thanks to the Prague professor for the great service which he has rendered to students of Horace. The *Pseudacron Scholia* will have to find a place beside the *Porphyriion Scholia* on our bookshelves.

W. M. LINDSAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE OPENING SENTENCE OF THE VERRINES.

In the *Classical Review* for December, 1904 (p. 440 f.), Principal Peterson proposes to change the *mirantur* of the MSS into *mirabitur*. The very excellency of the MS tradition and the fact that the error, if error it be, could—shall we say?—must—have been corrected long before the date of our existing MSS, ought to make us suspicious of any emendation, and to look for corruption (or misunderstanding) in another part of the sentence. I take liberty to doubt the explanation that *mirantur* is a copyist's error for *mirabitur*, through the stages *mirauitur*, *miramtur*. It is true that *b* is often written *u*, but in verbs this would surely hardly occur except where the other form is a real word, for example, where *habitatuit* appears instead of *hababit*. Also, the confusion between *n* and *u* is not common before the 13th century.

The proper solution is, I think, to regard *quis* as the nominative plural, and not as the nominative singular. This form is the same as that *ques*, which is attested by Charisius, Festus, and Priscian, and found in Cato, the S. C. De Bacanalibus, and Pacuvius, etc. (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 444). The form *quis* is quoted by Mr. C. H. Turner, in his *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Oxonii 1899–1904), Fasc. I. (Parts ii.), p. 150, seventeen times from Latin MSS of the Canons of Early Church Councils, which are amongst the most careful productions

of the scribe's art. The originals of these MSS are in no case older than the fourth century A.D.; so that we are face to face with the fact that a nom. pl. *quis*(*ques*) existed continuously throughout the long period of Latin literature. Confusion with the singular, or alteration to *qui*, was most natural.

I cannot see that there was anything to hinder Cicero from using this form. If it be a colloquial form, then he may have avoided it in his later speeches, as it is well known that there are stylistic features in the Quintius and the Roscius, and even in the Verrines, which he seems to have given up afterwards. But this is a point, for the full discussion of which it would be necessary to have collations of all the oldest MSS of Cicero's works, and it must be left to experts like Dr. Peterson.

As to the last part of the sentence, I think it may stand as it is. The sentence is long, and the plural *si quis* may quite easily have been varied to the singular subject of *probabit* and *putabit*. But there is a ready way out of the difficulty; namely to regard *probabit* and *putabit* as corrections of *probab̄t* (= *probabunt*) and *putab̄t* (= *putabunt*). The contraction assumed is found in ninth century MSS, perhaps also earlier.

A. SOUTER.

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A TRANSLATION OF MÜLLER AND DEECKE'S *ETRUSKER*.

MAY I be allowed space to state that I am engaged on A Translation into English of Müller and Deecke's *Etrusker*? Some of

the latest discovered Etruscan inscriptions will be reproduced in the volume.

HERBERT A. STRONG.

LIVERPOOL, January, 1905.

REPORTS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—MICHAELMAS TERM, 1904.

ON Oct. 28th Mr. ELLIOTT read a paper on 'The restoration of the text of Aristophanes.' He pointed out that for the scientific restoration of the text an immense amount of work had yet to be done. There had been no lack of emendations (e.g. for *Vesp.* 1223 Dr. Blaydes had suggested 14), but they had to a very large extent not been based on a scientific analysis of the evidence. Most of the MSS. were still either uncollated, or collated very incompletely and inaccurately. No edition had yet been published based on an accurate collation even of R for most of the plays. One consequence had been that, only R's more plausible readings being generally known, undue weight was still assigned by most editors to R as compared with the other MSS. Further collations were indispensable. He had himself lately made a full collation for the *Acharnians* of A, B, and part of C at Paris, and hoped later to collate some of the more promising Italian MSS. The next essential after collation was the determination of the genealogical relations between the MSS., a study which for Aristophanes was still in its infancy. He showed that, through neglect of this, editors had often given undue weight to readings, because supported by mere copies of existing MSS. It was also important to examine the characteristic tendencies and errors of each MS. E.g., in *Eq.* 600 nearly all MSS., with Athenaeus, read Πράμενοι κάθωνας, οἱ δὲ σκόροδα καὶ κρύμμα. Various editors added καὶ after δέ, following B (xv. c.) and X (xvi. c.); but καὶ would lay an undue emphasis on σκόροδα, and he showed that B and X swarmed with metrical and pseudo-metrical corrections, to which too much importance must not be attached. He therefore suggested δὲ δή, a favourite combination of Aristophanes, in which he showed that there was a strongly marked tendency of our MSS. to omit the δή (e.g. *Nub.* 1178, *Ar.* 67, etc.). Transposition was a frequent error of our MSS. (e.g. *Ach.* 341); hence in *Ach.* 1151 for the unmetrical τὸν ἐνγγραφῆ τὸν (or τῶν) μελέων ποιητὴν of the MSS. he suggested τὸν μελέων ἐνγγραφέα ποιητὴν θ'. Wrong division was common; hence in *Ach.* 832 for Ιτάς ἀλλὰ μή we must restore ἀλλ' ἀπίν. Unfamiliar words were often altered to easier, e.g. *Lys.* 281 ἀμᾶς to the unmetrical ἄμως. So too post-classical forms were substituted, e.g. *Ach.* 279 κρεασθῆσται for κρείσθεται. Changes were especially common in non-Attic words (e.g. *Lys.* 1080 καὶ to κάν or καὶ). Besides omissions of words, in a few cases a whole line seems to have been omitted (e.g. after *Ach.* 1205). But additions are commoner, both of words (e.g. τῶν in *Eq.* 29) and occasionally of whole lines (e.g. probably *Ach.* 803). After examining various types of errors in our MSS., and referring to the origin of the Aldine text, Mr. Elliott examined the question of the text implied in the scholia. Sometimes a reading may be safely restored from them against all our MSS., e.g. *Lys.* 191 φάλιον for λευκόν; and elsewhere a word, though not directly mentioned, seems implied; e.g. *Ach.* 924, from αἱ νῆσις etc. of the MSS. and εὐθὺς of the scholia, we should probably restore αἴφυτης. Sometimes a diversity of readings is mentioned (e.g. *Th.* 1040). He did not think adscripts so common in our texts as Dr. Rutherford believed, but they

sometimes existed; e.g. in *Lys.* 799 the scholia implied the absence of τὸ σκέλος of our MSS. After illustrating the value of inscriptions in restoring the text, he examined the value of the numerous quotations in other writers. These were especially important for the *Thesmophoriazusae*; e.g. in 456 we can restore the metre by adding τῶις from Plutarch and Gellius. Of special importance for the text were Pollux (e.g. *Ach.* 1177, ἡπὶ for ἡρῷ), Athenaeus (e.g. *Ecc.* 843 λάγανα for πόναρα), Hesychius (e.g. *Lys.* 1171, λισσάνι for λισσάνιε) and Photius (e.g. *Eq.* 697, περιεκόκκατα for περιεκόκκυτα), who all wrote before the date of our earliest MSS., and Suidas (e.g. *Th.* 53, ἄψιδας for ἄστιβας). After illustrating the great light that would be thrown on the relations of our MSS. by a more systematic examination of the text implied in their quotations, he showed that the excessive weight commonly assigned to R was not supported by the text of the palimpsest, contemporary with R, in the *Birds*, nor by the Fayyum papyrus of the sixth century.

ON Nov. 4th Mr. H. P. RICHARDS discussed the interpretation of certain passages in Aristotle. The passages were *Soph.* *Elench.* 183 a 34-end; *Politics* 1451 a 6-8: 1455 a 1: 1456 a 17: 1457 b 26: 1458 a 31: 1459 b 2: 1462 a 18.

ON Nov. 11th Dr. FARRELL read papers on (a) 'An unrecorded settlement of Attic cleruchs in Euboea'; (b) 'A discussion of the cults of Demeter Αχαλα and Demeter Επιρύς.' The first of these two papers will shortly be published in full; the second will form a part of the forthcoming Third Volume of Dr. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States*.

ON Nov. 18th Mr. COWLEY read a paper on 'Traces of an early Mediterranean race.' He suggested that at some prehistoric time a Ugro-Finnic race lived on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and that many names of places and persons can be explained from their language. Thus Ολυμπος, the name of several very high peaks, may be compared with the modern Finnish *ytempi*, the comparative (and superlative stem) of *yli* 'high.' Ida is the mountain of the East or of sunrise, *itā*. Eteocretan is not 'true' Cretan, but from the same *itā*, the people in the 'East' of Crete. Italia (i.e. originally the southern part of the peninsula, Brutium) is *etelā* the 'South,' as contrasted with Latium, which is *luode* the 'North-west' (*uo*=original *a* and *d* is phonetic for *t*). The Greek forms of such names are often due to popular etymology. Thus Αιθωρία is from *etelā* and perhaps *pāa*, the 'far-off region,' but has been made to look as though derived from *aiθω* and *ψ*. So αἰθωσα, really *etelā* the 'front' of the house, because it always looked East or South, is turned into a participle of *aiθω*, 'blazing.' If Greeks and Ugrians ever lived together, it is possible that some of the standing epithets in Homer are Greek translations of Ugrian names; e.g. Ιάσος is αἰθός, because derived from *yli* 'high.' Ιδαιορεῖς is δρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, because his name *etulainen* means 'foremost.' The Ugrians were a sea-faring race, and many of the legends of Phoenicians may really refer to

them. Possibly the 'Phoenician' alphabet, which does not appear in the East before 900 B.C., may have originated with them.

On Dec. 2nd Dr. GRUNDY read a paper on the relation of certain economic factors to Greek warfare in general and the Archidamian war in particular. He pointed out two paradoxes by which the student of Greek warfare is faced at the outset of his inquiry: (1) that the typical Greek army, the hoplite infantry, was a force which was wholly unfitted to act efficiently on four-fifths of the surface of so rugged and mountainous a country as Greece; (2) that Greek armies were even as late as the fifth century notoriously incompetent in siege warfare, though the land was thickly sown with strong natural positions, many of which were artificially fortified. These paradoxes could, however, be reconciled by means of that economic factor of which there is evidence scattered throughout Greek literature, the deficiency of the food supply. Extant

evidence on this point went back as early as the time of Hesiod. In the Archidamian war the Athenians were in possession of a new factor—the linked fortress of Athens-Piraeus—which greatly modified the economic conditions under which, up to that time, war had been carried on in Greece. But in the Peloponnes the old conditions continued to prevail. Hence the main Athenian design in the Archidamian war was a blockade of the Peloponnes with a view to reducing the peninsula to severe straits with regard to food supply, a design in which the operations in Akarnania and the North-West formed a side-plot. Dr. Grundy also dealt with the data available for calculating the numbers which could be put into the field by the various States, and pointed out that some of Beloch's conclusions on this subject, and especially in relation to Sparta, understate what appear to have been the facts of the case.

A. H. J. GREENIDGE,
Hon. Sec.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SCOTLAND.

THE Fifth General Meeting of the Classical Association of Scotland was held in Edinburgh on the 26th of November when there was a very large attendance of members to hear papers read by Professors Hardie and Saintsbury of Edinburgh University. The President, Prof. G. G. RAMSAY, LL.D., Glasgow, occupied the Chair and made some introductory remarks.

Professor HARDIE's subject was 'The pronunciation of Latin and Greek in schools and colleges.' He said he had no sympathy with those who urged that to secure anything like accuracy and uniformity would demand an exorbitant amount of time and trouble on the part of teachers, and that, therefore, all attempt at exact pronunciation should be abandoned. Strict attention to quantity and correct pronunciation in all teaching from the most elementary stages would secure the desired end. He concluded by submitting certain definite practical suggestions.

An interesting discussion followed the reading of the paper, and at the close it was agreed on the motion of Professor Burnet to request the General Committee to consider and report to next meeting regarding some definite scheme of recommendations which might be issued by the Association.

At the afternoon meeting Professor SAINTSBURY read an interesting paper on the 'Literary teaching of ancient and modern languages.' He said that if it was desired to give a literary colour to Classical teaching, and to inculcate a literary habit, they had in the Classics and in foreign modern languages also patterns and examples of the most perfect literary form. These the student ought to have in his memory as a permanent possession: they would help

him to exact scholarship and to the appreciation of whatever was best in literature. His profound belief was that they could not teach English literature or the English language in any really satisfactory manner if they were debarred from comparison with and illustration from those classical tongues to which the language owed so much and the literature so much more. He asked Secondary schoolmasters to advise their *abiturienten* always to take Latin, and, if they took it at all, Greek before taking English at the University.

Emeritus-Professor BUTCHER, London, spoke at some length on the subject of the paper, and alluding to recent educational methods in America, which were sometimes held up to us as models of imitation, said that those in that country who had given most thought to the matter were now coming to the conclusion that painless methods and the multiplicity of subjects were the bane of education. If he were asked to say what are the best subjects to create literary interest he would answer subjects which are in themselves literary, which are fitted to appeal to the imagination and create interest, which are also of a kind requiring severe precision and logical thought and demanding effort on the part of the learner.

These papers will be published in the third volume of the Proceedings of the Association.

The next meeting will be held in Aberdeen on the 11th March.

We are indebted for the above report to the courtesy of Mr. W. LOBBAN, Hon. Secretary of the Association.—ED. C.R.

VERSIONS

'THREE JOLLY POST-BOYS.'

THREE jolly Post-boys
Drinking at the Dragon,
And they determinéd
To have another flagon.

Landlord, fill the flowing bowl
Until it doth run over;
For to-night we'll merry be,
To-morrow we'll be sober.

He that drinks good wine
And goes to bed mellow
Lives as he ought to live
And dies a jolly fellow.

He that drinks small beer
And goes to bed sober
Fades as the leaves do fade
And dies in October.

He that loves a pretty girl
Let him have his pleasure,
Fool if he marries her
Unless she hath much treasure.

Therefore push the bowl about
And drive away dull sorrow,
Now's the time for pleasure. Where
Shall we be to-morrow?

IN LATIN.

(To be sung to the original air.)

Tres calones hilares
Potantes in popina
Statuerunt bibere
Poela quisque bina.

'Appone, puer, cyathos,
Et vina coronemus;
Indulgeamus genio,
Cras aquam bibemus.

Qui fit mero madidus
Et cubat ebriosus
Seit decenter vivere
Et moritur jocosus.

At si quis poscam potitat
Lectumque siccus petit
Occidit cum frondibus
Quas Autumnus metit.

Totus adamandus est
Chorus virginalis;
Sed est inepti ducere,
Ni qui sit dotalis.

Nunc ergo comissabimur,
Cor vino erigamus.
Nam quo loco eras erimus
Qui nunc hic compotamus?

IN GREEK.

(To be sung to the original air.)

Τρεῖς ἡλαροὶ ἴπποδρόμοι
ἐπ' οἴνῳ οἱ ξυνῆσαν,
τοῦτο δόξαν, κιλικας
τὸ δεύτερον ἥτησαν.

ἔγχει ζωρὸν, ᔍγχει, παῖ,
πλημμυρέτω κύπελλον,
μέθην γὰρ ἥδε νὺξ φέρει,
δύψαν δὲ φῶς τὸ μέλλον.

εἴ τις ζωρὸν ἐλκύσας
κείων ὑγρὸς βέβηκεν,
εἰ διάξας βίοτον
οὐλβίος τέθηκεν.

ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὁξεῖς γεύεται
νηφαλίος τε μνεῖ,
ώς φιλλὸς ὑπώρα μνιθεῖ
ξὺν Πλευάσιν τε δύει.

ἔρωμεν, ἄν τις ἥ καλῆ,
ἔρως γὰρ ἄνθος ἥρος,
σκαιοῦ δὲ γῆμαι παρθένον,
εἴ μή στιν ἐπίκληρος.

κωμάζετ' οὖν, ω ξυμπόται,
λύτας μέθη πανούτες,
ποῦ γὰρ ἐσόμεθ' αἴριον
οι ωδε νῦν ξυνόντες;

R. Y. TYRELL.

[It is not the custom of the *Classical Review* to publish versions in other metres than classical. But we feel sure that our

readers will condone a deviation from our rule in favour of such renderings as the foregoing.—ED. C.R.]

She dwelt among the untrodden ways
Beside the springs of Dove,
A Maid whom there were none to praise
And very few to love :
A violet by a mossy stone
Half hidden from the eye !
Fair as a star, when only one
Is shining in the sky.
She lived unknown, and few could know
When Lucy ceased to be,
But she is in her grave, and oh,
The difference to me !

WORDSWORTH.

Πηγαῖς ὡς ἀν ἔνοικος ἀγείτοσιν, ἡ κλέος ἀστῶν
οὐδενός, ἡ πολλῶν οὐδὲ ἔρον εὐραμένη,
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐν ποίῃ λιγθοντ' ἄπερ, ἡ τις ἐρήμω
ἐμπρέπει ὡς ἀστὴρ αἰθέρι μουνοφανής,
νῦν ἔλαθε ζήσασα· τί γὰρ πολλοῖσι μέλεσθαι
μέλλεν ; ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅσσος φεῦ πόθος οἰχομένη.

W. H.

SONG.

Look not thou on beauty's charming,
Sit thou still when kings are arming,
Taste not when the wine-cup glistens,
Speak not when the people listens,
Stop thine ear against the singer,
From the red gold keep thy finger,
Vacant heart, and hand, and eye,
Easy live and quiet die.

SIR WALTER SCOTT,
Bride of Lammermoor.

IDEM LATINÈ.

Qui tibi, sive account reges in proelia ferrum,
Instruct illecebras seu Cytherea suas ?
Quid tibi, si spuman lucentia pocula Baccho,
Seu stetit intento densa corona foro ?
Non oculos rutili deleniat aura metalli,
Non animum liquidos docta Thalia modos.
Claudere securam facili vis funere vitam ?
Libera gestabis lumina, corda, manus.

D. A. SLATER.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE C.R. 1904, p. 328.)

SINCE the important—one might almost say sensational—discoveries recorded in my last report, there has been something of a lull in the interest of the Forum excavations: and at the present moment (the beginning of January) there is very little going on. The season of the year is, it is true, unpropitious, the water having, as is usually the case in winter, flooded the lower levels in the open area of the Forum: and the attack upon the remainder of the site of the Basilica Aemilia, which a fresh gift from Mr. Lionel Phillips has rendered possible, must of necessity be deferred until the new museum and director's offices in the former monastery of S. Francesca Romana are ready for occupation, so that the present temporary building may be removed.

The *Tribuna* of July 11th, 1904,¹ gives

¹ Of the *Notizie degli Scavi* nothing later than the number for March, 1904, has so far appeared.

some account of the discoveries of the early summer. Upon the southwest side of the *Lacus Curtius* the ground was found to contain many small cavities, for which a sacrificial use is conjectured, inasmuch as bones (mostly of bulls) and burnt beans and grains of spelt were found in them. A well was also discovered close by, excavated in the tufaceous earth and not lined, and, therefore, probably belonging to an early period. The upper portion of it was entirely filled with large lumps of tufa; but at the bottom there were discovered the skeletons of three large watchdogs, and fragments of archaic terra cotta *antefixæ*, adorned with figures of horses in relief and polychrome decorations.

Stratigraphic explorations have been carried on here, and also near the bases attributed to the equestrian statues of Domitian and of Q. Marcius Tremulus; but, as stated above, they have now of necessity been suspended. Recent work has chiefly been confined to the higher ground in the

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neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus. Here our classical authorities place two temples, that of Jupiter Stator and that of the Lares. The former stood in the fourth region (Notitia), παρὰ ταῖς καλουμέναις Μονυγούλαι τίλαις, ἀφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ Παλάτιον ἐκ τῆς ιερᾶς ὁδοῦ (Dion. Hal. ii. 50; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* iii. i. 91, *Liv.* i. 12), ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ιερᾶς ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀνιόντων¹ (Plut. *Cic.* 16), and close to (or opposite) the house of Tarquinius Superbus, some of the windows of which faced the *Nova Via*, and which apparently lay on the upper (southwestern) side of this street (*Liv.* i. 41. 4, *per fenestras in novam viam versus*—habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris —populum Tanaquil adloquitur: Plin. *H.N.* xxxiv. 29 contra Iovis Statoris aedem in vestibulo Superbi domus: *Solin.* i. 24. Tarquinius Priscus ad Mugioniam portam supra summam novam viam).

The latter is merely placed ‘in summa sacra via’ (*Solin.* i. 23, *Mon. Ant.* iv. 7 ‘aedem Larum in summa sacra via feci’) and a dedicatory inscription ‘Laribus publicis sacrum’ set up by Augustus in 4 B.C. ‘ex stipe quam populus ei contulit K(alendis) Ianuariis apsentis’ (*C.I.L.* vi. 456) was found in the sixteenth century ‘in ipso fere Palatini montis in Forum descensu’ within the limits of the gardens of the Farnese family. If this base had any connexion with the temple (which Mommsen, *R.G.D.A.* 82 denies, supposing it to have stood at a street corner), its discovery seems to fix the site as on the northwest side of the Arch of Titus, inasmuch as the road ascending from the arch to the Palatine formed the boundary of the Farnese property. This fact seems to have escaped the notice of Richter (*Topographie*, 161), who, while rightly maintaining that the base probably had something to do with the temple, agrees with Gilbert (*Geschichte und Topographie*, iii. 424) in giving the name to the remains of a temple on the southeast side of the arch. It must be admitted that the passages describing the site of the temple of Jupiter Stator seem to indicate that it lay between the *Sacra Via* and the *Nova Via*, and close to the ascent to the Palatine; and that these conditions would be rather better satisfied if it were placed on the northwest side of the arch: and the same is the case with regard to the relief from the tomb of the Haterii (*Mon.*

¹ This expression is generally taken to mean ‘at the beginning of the *Sacra Via*’ i.e. at the end where the ascent to the Palatine is (and not at the Capitol end); but is it not possible that it may have the same meaning as *Sacer Clivus* in Martial i. 70. 5; iv. 78. 7 (see *C.R.* 1902, 336)?

Inst. v. 7, Helbig, *Führer*, ii. 692) in which the temple of Jupiter occupies the extreme right of the picture, the order of the buildings running from the Colosseum upwards. Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 200) Hülser (*Forum Romanum* (1904), 201)² and Boni (cited in *Bull. Com.* 1903, 18), are, however, all inclined to attribute the ruins to the southeast of the arch to the temple of Jupiter Stator: and the find-spot of the above-mentioned dedication to the Lares seems a decisive argument. A little has been done towards the further clearing of this temple, of which nothing but the podium remains: the core of it consists of seice concrete, surrounded above the ground level by a wall of peperino blocks: along the N.E. and S.E. sides runs a low mass of concrete, which is very likely the foundation of a flight of steps, and which was added later, as is shown by the slits which mark the places of the vertical beams used in setting the concrete of the core of the podium. It may be noted in this connexion that Cicero summoned the Senate to meet here after the discovery of the Catilinarian conspiracy (*in Catilin.* i. 1. ‘hic munitionis habendi senatus locus’) and no doubt at that time the steps were narrower and the interior of the temple less easily accessible. Upon the podium of the temple are a few peperino blocks, which, if in situ, belong to the walls of the cella; but they very likely formed part of the substructures of the *Torre Cartularia*, which stood here in the Middle Ages, and to which belong other concrete foundations, in which many fragments of white marble are employed.

Of the temple of the Lares, on the northwest side of the arch, some scanty remains are believed to have been recently discovered. They consist of a wall of opus quadratum of tufa blocks, running along the northwest edge of the road ascending to the Palatine (*C.R.*, 1902, 286), upon which rests in one place a travertine pilaster base: so that what we have before us may be a portion of an external colonnade. The beginning of a crosswall going northwest at right angles has also been discovered; but the rest of the building has been destroyed by the extensive reconstructions which have taken place, and even upon the remains of which we have spoken there has been superimposed a huge mass of concrete, belonging to the foundations of a great portico

² In the ‘Nomenclator’ to Kiepert and Hülser, *Forma Urbis Romae Antiquae*, follows Gilbert’s view: but cf. *Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 95—where, as the sense shows, ‘westlich’ must be a misprint for ‘östlich.’

(perhaps the *Porticus Margaritaria*) which stood upon the opposite side of the *Sacra Via* to the *Basilica of Constantine* and evidently belonged to the same period (*C.R.* 1899, 467, 1900, 238; *Bull. Com.* 1903, 24) and upon this again lies concrete of an even more recent date.

The temple was apparently a small one (though the 'sacellum *Larum*', of which Tacitus speaks in *Ann.* xii. 24 as one of the four points—no doubt the angles—which marked the *pomoerium* of the *Palatine*, is probably to be sought at the northwest angle of the hill, cf. Richter, *Topographie*, 33, for not far to the northwest lie the remains of a large house, belonging probably to the late Republic or early Empire (*C.R.* 1900, 239), of which other portions have been laid bare in the last few months), some fragments of well laid mosaic pavements in black and white and of painted wall plaster having been discovered *in situ*.¹ They have an orientation slightly diverging from that of the temple, and it is possible that the southeastern portion of the house was removed to make way for it: but the house as a whole apparently continued to exist until the construction of the foundation walls of the *porticus* mentioned above.

Below the level of this house again a portion of the tufa rock of the *Velia* itself has been reached: it has an artificially levelled surface, and in it is cut a flight of three steps. Here is another well, with remains of its lining of curved slabs of tufa. Further up the line of the road to the *Palatine* (the earlier pavement of which is extremely well laid) are remains of buildings on the northwest side, of which at present little can be understood. There is in one place a good example of an *intercapedo*—a space between two brick walls some four feet wide, bridged by blocks of travertine at intervals, and, at a lower level, a fragment of red brick tessellated pavement.

A certain amount of exploration has also been undertaken along the course of the *Nova Via*. In one of the *tabernae* on its south-side, close to its divergence from the ascent to the *Palatine*, a good decorative mosaic pavement in black and white has been found; and—not at the actual point of divergence, but further to the northwest—a good deal of its earlier pavement has been discovered, lying at about three feet below the later: it shows very little sign of wear, unless we are

¹ In a room further to the southwest is a circular well cut in the rock: in the soil which had accumulated above it were found a dolium and an amphora, both entire.

to suppose that it had been 'roughed' only a short while before it passed out of use. Its freshness is, it is true, in part, though not altogether, accounted for by the existence on its southwest side of a footpath paved with slabs of travertine, which were laid upon it. The brick arches which span the road where it passes behind the *Atrium Vestae* and those which have been built along the façade of the edifices on the southwest of the road—probably shops in the lower portions of the substructures of the Imperial palace which towered above—can now be seen to have been later additions, inasmuch as their footings rest upon this earlier pavement. The exploration of the drain which runs below it is now in progress.

In the *Basilica of Constantine* the clearing of the pavement is being resumed, but not much more than was visible in the spring has as yet been brought to light. It was composed of pieces of various coloured marbles. Fragments of fallen vaulting with (in some cases) well preserved coffering are also being discovered.

The northeastern apse is represented by Andreas Coner (*Papers of the British School at Rome*, ii. pl. 16, 59) as having either four or six columns on the line of its chord. Neither is, as a fact, correct: there were probably two,² with a passageway between them, and marble screens between each column and the apse wall.

Under the remains of the *Horrea Piperataria* in front of the *Basilica*, near its southeast end, a piece of mosaic pavement, with white tesserae laid lengthwise, has been brought to light. This belongs perhaps to a private house or at any rate to some building which occupied the site before the construction of the *Horrea Piperataria*. (*C.R.* 1900, 239).

The discovery of three further fragments of the *Fasti Consulares* at different points has already been noticed in *C.R.* 1904, 425.

Turning to the literature of the subject, we find that the official reports, with the exception of a short notice upon these frag-

² The foundations upon which the bases of these presumed columns stood are each 1·40 metre square (Comm. Boni was good enough to have them cleared in response to an enquiry from me), and in the three spaces the threshold slabs of marble still remain; cf. Platner, *Topography of Ancient Rome*, 318. Comm. Boni further remarks that the existence of four columns of red porphyry at the entrance from the *Sacra Via* (opposite to this apse) is uncertain, those which now stand there belonging to a comparatively recent restoration, and the discovery of a similar fragment below the level of the intermediate road mentioned in *C.R.* 1900, 239, may be an argument against the correctness of this restoration.

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ments (*Not. Scav.* 1904, 8-10), are conspicuous by their absence. A plan of the Palatine, accompanied by accurately determined heights above sea level, will be welcome (*ibid.* 43-46 and plate), though, owing to the lack of distinction between walls above the ancient level and substructures, it is not so clear as it might be (cf. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 153).

The *Bulletino Comunale* contains a description of the find of vases in the base of the equestrian statue of Domitian (1904, 75-82, 174-178, cf. *C.R.* 1904, 328) by Prof. Gatti, in which he inclines to accept the idea that they were manufactured in the time of Domitian, and of the *Lacus Curtius* by Professor Tomassetti (181-187).

Prof. Petersen has published as a pamphlet (*Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus* Rome, 1904) a statement of his views upon the monuments which adjoin the *Niger Lapis*, of which he gave a summary at an open meeting of the German Institute on April 22, 1904. According to him, the line of steps which have hitherto been taken to be those leading up to the *Rostra* of the Republic (of which he finds as many as five, tracing them for a length of no less than 24 metres) belong in reality to the period of the Kings, serving as an approach to the *suggestus* or terrace of the *Rostra* which served as the southern boundary of the *Comitium*, and which he traces for about the same length. It faces almost exactly south, and thus corresponds with the orientation of the earliest *Curia*.¹ This *suggestus* remained in use, though raised to a higher level, in the Republican period, but the form of the steps by which it was approached was entirely modified. The original straight flight was replaced by a curved line—as far as can be determined, a segment of a true circle with a radius of about 18 metres—of five steps. On the northeast it ends abruptly with a straight termination which is almost parallel to the gutter in the marble pavement in front of the *Curia Iulia*; while further to the west it cuts the straight flight, beyond which point it is not traceable: though the position of its other end may be inferred from the existence of

a pre-Caesarian travertine pavement, which is, on the other hand, probably not earlier than the time of Faustus Sulla, in front of the *Curia Iulia* and at a different orientation (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 309). The terminal points of this curved line of steps are, according to Prof. Petersen, the 'cornua comitii' upon which the statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades were placed at the bidding of the Delphic oracle about 300 B.C., remaining there until the construction of Sulla's *Curia* necessitated their removal. And the tomb of Romulus lies more or less in the centre of this curve—a fact which gives the approximate orientations of the *Curia* both of the early Republic and of Sulla (they may have been either identical or slightly different).

The tomb is spoken of by Varro (as cited by the scholiast on Horace *Epid.* 16. 13) as either 'in,' 'pro,' or 'post rostris.' The meaning is, clearly, that the *Rostra* adjoined the tomb, and were behind it as seen from the *Comitium*, in front of it as seen from the Forum (or vice versa). The *Rostra* are therefore to be sought in the 'erection of the nature of an altar on the south side of the "tomb of Romulus"' (*C.R.* 1904, 140)—a possibility recognized by Boni (*Not. Scav.* 1899, 153). This foundation, which measures only 3·50 by 1·60 metres, would, of course, be the *Rostra* only in the narrower sense—the actual place where the orator stood, and which alone was decorated with the beaks of the ships—only six according to Florus, i. 5. 10—captured from the *Antiates* in 338 B.C., while the *suggestus* is the *Rostra* in the wider sense—the erection upon which the favoured part of the audience sat or stood at funeral orations or games and shows, and upon which statues of illustrious men were placed.² It is again, of course, only the *Rostra* in the narrower sense that can be regarded as a 'templum'—a rectangle orientated according to the four quarters of the heavens (though, as a fact, it is over 20 degrees out) and it did not exist before 338 B.C., as Livy's expression 'Rostraque id templum appellatum' shows (viii. 14). The tomb and the curved steps are of course older, though probably contemporary with one another—so that the tomb is perhaps not the original one in correspondence with the *suggestus* of the period of the kings. In any case, the destruction of the lions and

¹ The five tufa steps in front of the *Curia* of Diocletian (which, it is generally agreed, occupies the exact site of the *Curia Iulia*) which correspond more or less in orientation with it, but lie at a far lower level than even the pavement of the Republican *Comitium*—they are lettered X in the plan in *Not. Scav.* 1900, 296—perhaps belonged to the north-eastern enclosing wall of the *Comitium* (Petersen, *op. cit.* 14).

² 'Inferior locus' is interpreted, however, as referring to the level of the *Comitium* as distinguished from the *Rostra*, not to the *Rostra* in the wider sense as against the narrower.

the dislocation of their pediments is to be attributed to the Gaulish invasion of 390 B.C.

A comparison with the 'Rostra vetera'¹ at the northwest end of the Forum as reorganized by Caesar and with the Rostra *Julii* shows a surprising similarity of measurement, the length of the front of both these being about 24 metres, which corresponds exactly with that of the oldest *suggestus*, and is only about three metres less than the chord of the curve of the Rostra of the early Republic. There is further a remarkable analogy between the position of the tomb of Romulus and that of the altar which marked the spot where Caesar's body was burnt.

Professor Petersen's theories are decidedly ingenious, and deserve attention both for the authority of their originator, and as being the first attempt to explain the existing remains in conjunction with one another, and to trace the history of the whole.² Whether the interpretation that he has put upon them is correct, is another matter, and can, as he remarks in conclusion, only be tested by further excavation: for despite all that has already been done in the Comitium, there is room for yet further spade-work: and, in what has been done, it is not impossible that certain points may have been missed. Professor Petersen himself remarks that 'die Gräber [he is referring to the reports on the pre-historic cemetery] sind denn auch mit einem Raaffinement der Beobachtung beschrieben, von dem man nur die Hälfte bei Abräumung des Romulusgrabs gewünscht hätte' (*Jahrbuch des Inst.* 1904, *Arch. Anz.* 111) and it may be added that we are still without the final publication of the objects found beneath the black marble pavement (cf. *C.R.* 1901, 86; 1904, 141).

The literature of the Forum in general has been enriched by three handbooks, mainly intended for use on the spot

¹ Professor Petersen (p. 33, note 38) refuses to accept Richter's new theory (*C.R.* 1904, 140) with regard to the hemicycle which has hitherto been known as the Graecostasis. He does not attempt to meet the argument (urged long ago by Nichols, and confirmed by Richter's recent observations) that at the point of contact the hemicycle certainly seems to be earlier in date than the structure of *opus quadratum* in front of it. His observations with regard to the technique of the facing of the hemicycle are important: but slabs of *porta santa* (faian) marble are hardly to be described as 'bunte Kalksteinplatten.'

² It need hardly be said that they are irreconcilable with those of Professor Studniczka (cf. *C.R.* 1904, 140).

(Hülsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, Rome, 1904; Burton Brown, *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum*, 1898-1904; St. Clair Baddeley, *Recent Discoveries in the Forum*, 1898-1904). The first of these, while not pretending to take the same ground as the author's exhaustive and critical account of the recent excavations in *Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 1-97, is, it need hardly be said, written by a past master of the subject; and, being a description not merely of recent work, but of the Forum as a whole, has this advantage over the other two, that it places the latest discoveries in their proper setting. The historical introduction, divided into three sections—the Forum in ancient times, the Forum in the Middle Ages, and the investigation of the Forum from the Renaissance onwards—is of very great interest.

The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and there is a good bibliography.

The other two works will be of service to English speaking visitors and students, especially the former, which is the more conveniently arranged of the two; but the latter contains the most up to date plan of the Forum that has yet appeared, though it is not reproduced upon as large a scale as might be wished.

A serviceable volume on the city as a whole is Professor Platner's *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* (Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1904). The author states in the preface that it 'makes no claim to exhaustiveness or originality; it is only a compilation from various sources': but it is handy and contains very numerous references to the most recent works on the subject, which seem to have been used with discretion and care.

Outside the Forum there is no excavation of importance to chronicle: the Ara Pacis has not been touched for the last eight months or more, and we can only hope that a beginning may be made in the spring, when the river level has fallen.

Professor Petersen (*Röm. Mitt.* 1904, 159) expresses the hope that Horace's Sabine villa should be investigated. (The site of it, near the banks of the Licenza, is fixed with almost absolute certainty by the existence of remains of mosaic pavement.) I would plead, not only for this, but for the excavation of one or more of the villas which exist in hundreds in the nearer neighbourhood of Rome. For as Rostowzew (*Pompeianische Landschaften und römische Villen*, in *Jahrbuch des Inst.*, 1904, 103 *sqq.*) points out, we know practically nothing of their plan: the only two exam-

ples of completely excavated villas that he is able to find are the villa of Hadrian (which is not necessarily or even probably typical) and the villa of Voconius Pollio, which has since been obliterated by cultivation: and, though one or two others, such as the imperial (?) villa now known as Settebasi and the Villa of the Quintilii, may even in their present state (though they would amply repay complete investigation) be added to his list, it would be a great gain to our knowledge if the Italian Government would avail itself of some of the now frequent opportunities of research at comparatively small cost which occur when the site of one of these villas is brought under cultivation. The Campagna is fast undergoing the process of conversion from a succession of open pastures to a district of cornland and vineyards: and once these have been established, the expense of excavation will be large, if not prohibitive—if indeed there be anything left to excavate (cf. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, i. 136, 137, 249).

The first open meeting of the British School at Rome for the present session was held on Jan. 9th. Mr. H. Stuart Jones, the Director, read a paper upon the reliefs in the Villa Borghese, which have hitherto been attributed to the arch of Claudius, erected in commemoration of his victories in Britain in 51-52 A.D., which carried the Aqua Virgo over the Via Lata (*C.I.L.* vi. 960, *Helbig, Führer*, ii.² 939-941). As he pointed out, there is no positive evidence for the attribution, which rests upon a conjecture of Nibby's as to their provenance (*Monumenti Scelti della Villa Borghese*, p. 15), improbable in itself, but accepted without question by most archaeologists—who are reduced to various expedients in order to fit them into the place which they are thus wrongly forced to occupy in the history of art. Their real provenance is indicated by Flaminio Vacca *mem.* 68, 'nella chiesa di S. Martina . . . vi erano due grandi istorie di marmo statuate, assai consumate, rappresentanti armati con trofei in mano e alcuni togati, di buona mano . . . che al presente (1594) sono in casa del sig. cavaliere della Porta scultore.' Giambattista della Porta died in 1597, and his collection of sculptures (some 400 pieces in all) was sold in or after 1618 by his surviving heir, Giovanni Paolo, apparently *en bloc* to Cardinal Scipione Borghese, inasmuch as all the works of art which can be identified from the descriptions in the *della*

Porta inventory (published in *Röm. Mitt.* 1893, 236 *sq.*) can be traced to the Borghese collection.

An examination of the style of the reliefs shows that they present very close analogies with works of the time of Trajan, and this would agree with the fact of their having existed in the church of S. Martina, not far from the Forum of Trajan, for the decoration of which indeed they probably served. It is especially noteworthy that Winckelmann unhesitatingly attributed them to this period (*Werke, Donauöschingen*, vi. 259), though archaeologists have up till now not followed him.

Mr. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Student of the School, followed with a paper upon royal portrait heads of the Hellenistic period, in which he refuted certain of the current identifications, as being often based on insufficient study of the coin types, and in some cases contradictory. The meeting was well attended by Italian archaeologists and members of the other foreign schools, and also by English residents in Rome.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPÍ.

Excavations at Phylakopí in Melos. Conducted by the British School at Athens. Society for Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Supplementary Paper No. 4. Pp. xv. + 280; 41 plates. Macmillans. 30s.

From 1896 to 1899 the archaeological explorations of the British School at Athens, which have of late years been carried on in the Sitia province of Crete and more especially at the now well-known Paláikastro, were confined to the island of Melos. The work started in 1896, under Mr. Cecil Smith's directorate, with the idea of exploring the immediate neighbourhood of the classical town of Melos, but owing to the meagreness of the results of this exploration, it became necessary to seek farther afield a new scene of operations. This was found in a prehistoric 'site close to the village of Phylakopí on the north-east coast, which Ross (*Inselreisen*, iii. 13) had heard of in 1843, and of which Weil and Dümmler in *Ath. Mitt.* 1876, p. 246, and 1886, p. 26, give an account. Both Ross and Dümmler call the site 'στὸν Καπρόν; but this is apparently a misconception, the real name being 'στὸν Καπνόν' because

of the white spray that blows over it when the wind is strong from the north.' Here were the remains of a Mycenaean cemetery, which had already been plundered, and the indubitable traces of a Mycenaean town, built directly upon the sea-shore, so close to the verge indeed that in the course of the centuries the waves had eroded part of the low cliff of soft tufa on which it stood, and had destroyed a considerable part of it.

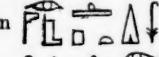
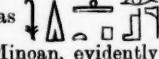
This site appeared to offer great possibilities, and in May 1896 work was started on it. From the first it became evident that the town was one of importance, of considerable extent, and provided with strong walls of defence. Also it soon became evident that at least three distinct strata of building could be traced in it, the uppermost of which shewed traces of 'Mycenaean' occupation.

How the work of exploration was carried out may be read in the British School's publication of the excavations, which has appeared under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies as 'Supplementary Paper No. 4' (1904), edited by a special Committee of the Society, consisting of an ex-Director and the present Director of the British School and the Editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. The result of this 'Belle Alliance' is the publication of a most interesting as well as archaeologically important volume.

The actual book is written by the excavators themselves, each contributing an article on the part of the work which chiefly concerned him. The only exception is an article on the Pottery-Marks by Dr. A. J. Evans. The illustrations are mostly from photographs and from drawings, chiefly by Mr. Halvor Bagge: there is a coloured reproduction of the famous Phylakopí fresco of the Flying-Fish (described by Mr. Bosanquet) by the practised hand of M. Gilliéron, and there are also two very useful plans, on which the walls of the successive settlements are distinguished by colours. These are by Mr. Atkinson, the architect attached to the excavations, and from them it may be seen that the excavation of Phylakopí is by no means completed. Of the separate articles the most interesting are those of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie on the history of the site and of Mr. Bosanquet on the ancient obsidian trade of Melos; Mr. C. C. Edgar's article on the pottery, illustrated by good photographs, will be useful to the student of Greek ceramics.

Dr. Evans's short article on the pottery marks calls for some comment. On p. 184,

Dr. Evans says that 'the method of writing from right to left, instead of from left to right, is not found in the Cretan linear inscriptions.' My doubts of this (*Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 141, n. 1) are, I confess, not yet resolved. Dr. Evans himself points out that a Melian inscription which he gives (Fig. 155) is the same as a Cretan sign-group, but is written in the reverse direction. If the Cretan inscriptions are to be read from left to right, then the Melian inscription reads from right to left: if the Melian group is to read from left to right, the corresponding Cretan inscriptions must be read from right to left. One or the other must read from right to left: the Melian inscription is identical as to its signs with the Cretan ones quoted, both must have the same origin and presumably represent the same sounds: therefore we see the Cretan-Melian or 'Minoan' linear script could be written and read from right to left. In fact the analogy which I drew three years ago between the Cretan and Egyptian scripts holds good; and it would now appear that, like Egyptian, 'Minoan' could be written either from right to left or from

left to right: in Egyptian  (right to left) is the same as  (left to right): so with Minoan, evidently (Phylakopí, Figs. 155, 156).

Turning to the general scientific results of the excavation, we see that the exploration of Phylakopí is archaeologically important in that it enables us to gain a tolerably complete idea of the development of civilization in an Aegean island from the sub-neolithic (the 'Cycladic' or 'Amorgian') stage of culture, up through the 'Early Minoan' period to the culminating point of the Bronze Age civilization of Greece, the period which saw the greatest glory of the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos in Crete, and has been called by Dr. Evans 'Minoan' after the name of the great legendary ruler of Knossos. Further, we see the setting in Melos, as in Crete, of the derived but decadent 'Mycenaean' culture, properly so-called, and after this, nothing. Phylakopí was abandoned, and, not so fortunate as Knossos or Phaistos, left not even a tradition of its existence in the mouths of men.

There are at Phylakopí the remains of four successive settlements: of these the first is not dignified by the excavators with the name of 'city': the last three are the

First, Second, and Third Cities of Phylakopi. The earliest settlement, upon the débris of which the houses of the First City were erected, was a simple village of the 'Cycladic' or 'Amorgian' period, the kind of prehistoric 'Middle Age' which a few years ago we used to call 'prae-Mycenaean,' which intervenes chronologically between Neolithic barbarism and the fully developed Bronze Age culture of Greece. This is the period of 'cist-graves,' corresponding to the Remedello period in Italy and that of the 'hall-graves' in Northern Europe. Of an earlier Neolithic settlement, however, there is no trace at Phylakopi. At Knossos there are indisputable traces of long ages of occupation by the stone-users. At Phylakopi no trace of house-walls was found in the Cycladic settlement, and elsewhere in the Aegean no trace of the dwellings to which the cist-grave cemeteries appertained have come to light. Now at Knossos no traces of walls have been found in the Neolithic deposits. Dr. Mackenzie concludes that 'if, now, the beginnings of the Cycladic civilization are to be put in a relation of direct sequence to the latest phase of the neolithic development, then we have an explanation of the fact that apparently the earliest Cycladic people also lived in houses which, if in some respects probably an advance on the old neolithic huts, were of equally perishable material' (p. 241). This is an interesting deduction and may be a correct one, but the possibility of a complete destruction of these early walls in all cases must not be ignored, and it cannot be definitely said that the supposed Neolithic wall at Phaistos referred to in a footnote on the same page, is probably in reality 'sub- or post-neolithic . . . in view of the evidence from Knossos.' The argument from silence has often been proved fallacious in 'Mycenaean' research.

In any case we see that the 'sub-' or 'post-Neolithic' culture in Crete developed directly out of the previous Neolithic culture, and we may presume that the people to whom the corresponding 'Cycladic' culture of the Aegean, as we see it exemplified in Melos in the settlement of Phylakopi and the cist-graves of Pelos, belonged, were preceded by a Neolithic population, of which no trace now remains, and that the 'Cycladic' culture was a developed form of that of the stone-users. In Crete there is evidently, as Dr. Mackenzie in his article on the 'Successive Settlements' says, no break whatever 'in racial continuity to be bridged over in the period which saw the inauguration of the use of metals and the transition

from purely neolithic ceramic forms to the Cnossian equivalent for the early metal-age ceramics of the Cyclades. Neolithic evidence like that of Knossos may one day be forthcoming in the Cycladic area itself. Meanwhile there are enough data afforded by the rich neolithic strata of prehistoric Knossos to establish the primary fact of ceramic and so of race continuity. And these data are sufficient not merely to establish the continuity subsisting at Knossos itself between the civilization of the neolithic people and that of the Minoan race of Crete. They also enable us to postulate an identical Aegean neolithic race as the ancestors of the Cycladic people, of whose civilization we have evidence, in the deposits of the cistombs, of early settlements like the one at Phylakopi and of later settlements both at Phylakopi and elsewhere in the Aegean' (p. 242).

Dr. Mackenzie's conclusion must undoubtedly be correct, but he is no doubt equally correct in saying further that 'this fact of race-continuity . . . excludes any view which would assign the origin of the Cycladic race to any external influence which might be conceived as arresting the course of native development and inaugurating an absolutely new beginning at any later stage.' But to add that this conclusion 'enables us to refer the origin of the Aegean civilization to the native neolithic people of the Aegean rather than to the foreign Carian race of Asia Minor' is flogging a dead horse, surely. The excavations of Messrs. Paton and Myres in Karia (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvi, 264-270) made it certain, as Dr. Mackenzie says (p. 243 note), that the Karian hypotheses, whether of Furtwängler and Löscheke or of Düümler and Studniczka, were impossible, and that—though we had not yet heard of the word 'Minoan' then (1898)—'the last reminiscences of the Minoan Sea-power and of Aegean culture were anterior to, and in their survivals became absorbed into, the Carian Sea-power and polity on the Asiatic coast in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.' The post-Mycenaean character of the Karian thalassocracy has of late years been taken for granted. Thus, says Dr. Mackenzie, 'the evidence . . . enables us to substitute an internal for an external "conception of development"' This conception has been maintained by students of Mycenaeanology for some years past: cf. my own book (1901) pp. 23-28.

There is no break in the continuity of the prehistoric Greek civilization, though

different periods of its development are well marked. These periods no doubt correspond to epochs in which the dominating power in the Aegean was exercised by the rulers of those Greek lands in which the successive developments of culture seem to have originated, and from which the several impulses to development seem to have radiated over the Aegean world. Thus the 'Minoan' development of Greek civilization seems to have originated in Crete and to have radiated thence northward over Greece and eastward to Cyprus, and certainly came into close contact with Egyptian civilization at least from the time of the XIIth Dynasty to that of the XVIIIth (B.C. 2500-1500).¹ The 'Minoan' development reached its height and decadence set in, marked, as Dr. Mackenzie shews (pp. 270, 271), by the supersession of the Cretan culture by the Mycenaean culture properly so called which seems to have radiated from Argolis and Thessaly over the Aegean, including Melos and Crete, and to have had relations with Egypt from the end of the XVIIth Dynasty (B.C. 1400) to the XXth (B.C. 1150). The 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' cultures were successive phases of the same Greek Bronze Age civilization which developed out of the Neolithic culture in Greece itself. The break in continuity occurs at the close of the Mycenaean Age, when the intrusive iron-users and makers of geometrical pottery came in. That the break was a very real one is shewn by a significant fact, the cessation of all relations with Egypt. Egyptian records tell us of no great civilization in the Northern Lands from the twelfth to the seventh centuries, when relations with Greece began again. That the change of phase in the old Bronze Age culture was a real one is shewn also by Egyptian evidence. XIIth Dynasty Egypt was in connection with the earlier Minoan, XVIIIth Dynasty Egypt with the later Minoan phase: the *Kestiu*-people were Cretans of the great Knossian period. These *Kestiu* disappear at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty: with the XIXth, when Mycenaean pottery first appears in Egypt, a new set of Northern peoples came into the ken of the Egyptians: a shifting of political arrangements had evidently

¹ In common with most Egyptological students, I adhere to the older date for the XIIth Dynasty. The calculation, accepted by some German Egyptologists, which would bring this date down to about 1900 B.C., seems to me to be inadmissible. It is difficult to cram the XIIth Dynasty and the Hyksos period into three centuries, and Brugsch's date still holds the field.

taken place, with the XXth Dynasty, when Mycenaean pottery disappears from Egypt, these Northerners also disappear from Egyptian history, and nothing more is heard of the North till the time of the XXVIIth Dynasty, when the historical Greeks first came into contact with Egypt. Thus the evidence of archaeological discovery in Greece is entirely borne out by the evidence of the Egyptian monuments. Finally, later Greek tradition enables us to identify the period of Minoan civilization, the age of the *Kestiu*, with the legendary time of the Cretan thalassocracy, and the Mycenaean period, the age of the 'Peoples of the Sea' with the political hegemony of either the Achaeans or the 'Pelasgian' rulers who preceded them, according as we identify the intrusive iron-users and makers of geometrical pottery either, following Prof. Ridgeway, with the Achaeans, or, following the older theory, with the Darians. In either case the iron-using invaders were probably the 'Aryans' who brought an Indo-European speech into Greece, the Minoans and Mycenaeans having been probably 'Mediterraneans' like their neolithic culture-ancestors, and, presumably, speakers of the non-Aryan language-system of which Kretschmer has pointed out the traces in Greece.

So we see in Greece the development of a 'Mediterranean' civilization, ultimately in all probability closely connected with that of Egypt, from its neolithic beginnings to its final fall before the invading barbaric culture which, modified by the old tradition, formed the basis of the civilization of Classical Greece. The Karian hypothesis has long been dead: Dr. Evans has shewn us the distinction between 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean'; Dr. Mackenzie in his article in *Phylakopí* has for the first time brought the Cretan evidence into line with that available from the islands, and has emphasized the native character of the Bronze Age culture of Greece and its continuity of development.

Turning to the details of the excavations, above the remains of the small 'Cycladic' settlement we find those of the First 'City' of Phylakopí, which was of considerable extent. These remains consist of the actual house-walls, with pottery and occasionally other objects. The pottery is mostly of native manufacture, the peculiar porous ware of which the majority is made being presumably Melian; specimens of foreign ware found in Crete and there apparently native,

were also discovered. Conversely the more porous Melian pottery is found with the same Cretan ware at Knossos. This proof of connection is borne out by the simultaneous appearance at Phylakopi and Knossos of the beginnings of writing in the shape of potter's marks. Further we find in Crete the use of obsidian, which can only have come there from Melos. In Melos it is most abundant in the ruins of the First City of Phylakopi. Mr. Bosanquet devotes an article to this very interesting subject of Melian obsidian, and shews that the use of this handy material throughout Greece during the sub-neolithic period and later, as shewn by the excavations at Knossos, Phylakopi, Hissarlik, and elsewhere, proves an extensive obsidian trade connection between Melos and the rest of the Aegean world in very early times. But whether Dr. Mackenzie is justified in assuming that the obsidian objects found in deposits of the early period (4000-3000 B.C.) in Egypt must have been imported from Melos (p. 247), and that therefore we have proof of regular trade-connection between Melos and Egypt in the fourth millennium B.C., is very doubtful. We do not know that the Egyptians of the First to Sixth Dynasties did not get their obsidian from some source, unknown to us, nearer home. Mr. Bosanquet points out on p. 228 that the *ἀψινθίον λάθος* (probably obsidian) of the Roman lapidaries was imported from the Erythraean coast, and we know that the Egyptians were in constant communication with the 'land of Punt' at least from the time of the Vth Dynasty: it seems more likely that the obsidian cups of the Vth Dynasty grave at Dendera quoted by Dr. Mackenzie (*loc. cit.*) are made of Punic *ἀψινθίον λάθος*, rather than that their material was imported from the far-away islands of the *Hanebu*. In this connection may be noted one of the few misprints in the book. On this same p. 228 the name of the Egyptian town Naqada or Nakada (pronounced 'Nagada'), in the predynastic necropoles of which obsidian was found, is misspelled 'Naquada.'

The Second and Third Cities differ from the First in being provided with strong walls of defence. The great Minoan cities, like Knossos and Orchomenos, were open and unfortified, pointing to a period of peaceful and untroubled civilization. But the Second and Third Phylakopi, though contemporary with them, are fortified. Relations with Crete were constant. Cretan pottery appears more and more: the older polychrome ('Kamarès') ware is characteristic of the early Minoan period being succeeded

by vases of the 'Grand Palace style' (later Minoan); in the Third City even to the exclusion of the native ware. Phylakopi takes more and more the appearance of a mere over-sea outpost of the Minoan culture. Had it become politically an outpost of the Knossian power, a fortress of the Minoan thalassocrats? In this case its strong walls for defence against piratical attack either from landing-parties of sea-rovers or from the non-Minoan native population of the island become explicable. The later strata of the Second City correspond to the older strata of the Knossian palace, as is proved by the occurrence in them of rooms with single pillars in the centre exactly resembling the remarkable pillar-rooms at Knossos, which Dr. Evans considers to belong to the earlier Minoan palace. In the Third City we find a drainage-system parallel to that of Knossos. The older strata of the Third City are clearly contemporary with the second period of the Knossian Palace, and it is now, at the apogee of the Knossian civilization, that we find the Cretan influence most marked. Then comes an alteration. In the later houses of the Third City we meet with the first Mycenaean pottery, as we also find it in the later buildings of Knossos. To the later Third City at Phylakopi belongs a small palace or government house, which in its arrangement has no parallel in Crete or elsewhere in the Aegean, but 'goes back to mainland prototypes, and these prototypes themselves receive their classical expression in the Palace of Tiryns, not in that of Cnossos.' It has a megaron with a central hearth, and the light-well characteristic of the Cretan palaces is absent. The pottery found in it is 'decadent Mycenaean of the latest class.' Dr. Mackenzie concludes that it is the creation of mainland (Mycenaean) architects, and so that 'the latest rulers at Phylakopi were a mainland people, and that these formed part of a general wave of immigration into the Aegean of part of the native population of Greece, consequent on the incursion into their homes of new tribes from the north' (p. 270). The same Mycenaean conquerors from the mainland overthrew the Minoans of Crete. We have here the 'Peoples of the Sea' overthrowing and succeeding the Keftiu.

The Mycenaeans were the last inhabitants of Phylakopi. When the Argive thalassocracy was overthrown by the Iron-users, its site was abandoned. Karians and Phoenicians ruled, traded, and raided in the Cyclades, which may indeed have been partially depopulated (they are never mentioned in

the Homeric poems) until Dorian colonists sailed in between the harbour-guarding rocks and took Melos for their own. But ancient Phylakopí, on the other side of the island, was never reoccupied by them, and remained forgotten until discovered by the modern investigators of the Greek civilization of the Heroic Age.

H. R. HALL.

WALTERS' CATALOGUE OF BRITISH MUSEUM TERRACOTTAS.

Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum. By H. B. WALTERS, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department. Pp. 1+450; 44 plates, 90 illustrations in the text. 4to. 35s. net.

THE catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum is a work which will be as welcome to a certain section of archaeologists as it has been long expected, and Mr. H. B. Walters is to be congratulated on the successful completion of his gigantic task. The accurate and adequate description of more than three thousand specimens, the collection of references to plates, articles, and monographs illustrating the subject, and the comparison of similar specimens in other collections require a painstaking diligence, which is erroneously supposed to be peculiar to the Teuton, and a knowledge which is too seldom appreciated and commended.

The present catalogue maintains the high level of excellence reached by the familiar catalogues of vases in the British Museum, the plan of which it follows.

Like them it is preceded by an introduction. This contains, after a brief history of the collection, 'a full discussion of the ancient methods of working in terracotta, the various purposes which the material was made to serve, the circumstances in which the statuettes have been found, and their original destination, the range of subjects, the local fabrics, and the successive stages of the art.'

The catalogue itself is divided into five sections. Group A contains terracottas from Cyprus *circa* 1000-200 B.C. and a few of similar style from Syria; Group B, Archaic Greek Terracottas from the Mycenaean period onwards and a few archaic Etruscan Terracottas; Group C, Greek

Terracottas of the finest period; Group D, Italian Terracottas of the fine and later periods; Group E, moulds, stamps, and seals. The lamps, the moulded and glazed wares, and the moulds of Arretine vases are reserved for a second volume.

The catalogue is illustrated by no fewer than 44 plates of great excellence picturing 173 specimens, and by nearly one hundred cuts in the text.

The introduction is concise and scholarly. Entering more deeply and more seriously into the subject than Miss Hutton's monograph in the Portfolio series, it provides the first satisfactory account in English of the fickle art in antiquity, the fabrication of terracottas in particular, their uses, types, and subjects. To English Archaeologists then it will most probably be the standard work on the subject for many years to come. Consequently it appears matter for regret, first that there is no definite pronouncement as to the birthplace of the statuette, or rather no definite refutation of the popular English and continental belief in an Egyptian or oriental origin thereof. Secondly, that, when giving the various theories or guesses as to the uses of terracottas advanced by Welcker, Heuzey, Furtwängler, Rayet, Pottier, etc., Mr. Walters has scarcely discussed them, and has modestly refrained from indicating his own views, excepting perhaps by incidental comment. The reader is left to struggle more or less in a sea of conflicting theories.

M. Pottier's statement that the so called funerary figures are never found in temples requires modification in view of Naukratite discoveries.¹ It is a pity that the error should be perpetuated, and moreover that the whole question of the nature of the 'funeral masks' should be treated with a positive confidence which is certainly not warranted by our existing knowledge of the subject.

Then again a brief list of the most characteristic varieties of clay, such as that given by M. Martha, would have been a useful addition to the section dealing with the fabrication of terracottas.

Among minor points may be mentioned the use of *ἀκρωτίρια* (should it not be *ἄγριόντες*?) in the sense of *antefixa* (p. xvi); and the assumption made (p. xx and elsewhere) that *πηλός* cannot imply *baked* clay. The use of *πήλινα ποτήρια* (Lucian, *Lexiph.* 13)

¹ See *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1898-99, p. 69 ff.

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¹ Th
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shows that the word was not restricted to unbaked or sun-dried clay.

The statement (p. xv) that of walls of unburnt brick 'the most interesting remains are in the Heraeum at Olympia. The cella walls were of unburnt brick with a lowermost course of stone' is inaccurate and misleading.

Lastly the spelling of proper names appears to be arbitrary and inconsistent. If 'Croesus,' why 'Dionysos' and 'Asklepios'? If 'Myndus,' why 'Halicarnassos'? If 'Naucratis,' why 'Knidos,' and so forth?

The catalogue itself is deserving of the highest praise. The descriptions when tested in the Terracotta Room have proved faithful and minute, and they have this essential merit that they accurately visualise the objects described. A statuette is occasionally claimed to be Demeter or Aphrodite or what not, when it would perhaps have been better to avoid definite nomenclature or even deification, but it is difficult to decide where to draw the line, and easy to be hypercritical.

It was perhaps not part of the duty of Mr. Walters to point out that considerable suspicion is attached to the genuineness of the fine figures of Athena and Poseidon (B 78 and 79) said to be from Malesina.

Students in the Museum would have found the catalogue more useful if some indication had been given of the case (if not of the shelf) where each specimen is to be found. Whenever there is an absence of consecutive arrangement much time may be spent in fruitless search for a particular object. There are difficulties, no doubt, in the way of precise indication, but they are not insurmountable, and their conquest would greatly increase the working value of the British Museum catalogues.¹

Somewhat similar in character is the frequent omission of guiding numbers on the plates. The list of illustrations at the beginning of the volume does not invariably make up for their absence when several specimens are shown upon the same plate.

After this picking of small holes it is but fair that I should repeat my testimony to the general excellence and value of the work.

CLEMENT GUTCH.

¹ This fault is not peculiar to the Catalogue of Terracottas. As things are at present no visitor without official help can be certain of finding a particular vase within reasonable time.

BUTLER'S ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS.

Architecture and other Arts. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, A.M. Part II. of the publication of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900. The Century Co. New York City. Pp. 433, with 578 illustrations (in text). £4 4s. Od. net.

It is now nearly forty years ago since the Count Melchior de Vogué revealed the existence of numerous remains of an early Christian style of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries in Northern Central Syria, fully developed, and possessing features closely approximating to those which we find in the Romanesque architecture in Europe of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

His work entitled 'La Syrie centrale, Architecture civile et Religieuse' was illustrated by a large number of engraved plates of great beauty and included not only the Christian work in North Syria but early Pagan work in the Hauran, many of the drawings of which had never been measured or published. Since M. de Vogué's visit in 1861-62 no serious attempt has been made to study the architectural monuments of the country, so that the plates illustrating his work and the letter press which accompanies them still remain the principal if not the sole source of information regarding the Pagan and Christian architecture of Central Syria. The work just published and entitled *Architecture and other Arts*, to which should have been added 'in North Central Syria and the Hauran,' is Part II of the publication of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900.

The description is written by Mr. H. C. Butler and the work was not intended at first to be much more than an appendix to M. de Vogué's work. As suggested in the preface, its primary object, so far as the study of architecture was concerned, was to visit the sites reached by M. de Vogué, to verify the measurements of monuments, and to take photographs of the same. There is no doubt that the main result has been the confirmation of M. de Vogué's labours and that the photogravures of Mr. Butler's work bear witness to the care and accuracy observed by M. de Vogué and the architect who accompanied him, not only in the delineation of the ornamental details which abound in the work, but generally to the correctness of the 'état actuel' of the buildings represented as regards their principal architectural features.

On the other hand the photogravures suggest that the actual buildings are not always quite so fine in effect as shown in M. de Vogué's beautifully engraved plates, though that may partly be due to the comparatively poor reproductions of the original photographs. That which, however, is more serious is the revelation they make of the ruinous condition of many of the buildings, far greater than that which is shown in M. de Vogué's drawings. It is quite possible that part of this is due to the lapse of time which has passed since his visit in 1861, and we are informed that two of the important buildings illustrated in M. de Vogué's book, viz. the Praetorium at Musmish and the church of Tourmanin (Der Turmanin in Mr. Butler's book) have almost entirely disappeared, their materials having been utilized in modern constructions. In nearly all the churches in North Central Syria which have been photographed by Mr. Butler there are, however, wide fissures not shown in M. de Vogué's plates, so that we have every reason to be grateful to the American Archaeological Society for the reproductions they have made of what actually exists, and the faithful representations they give of architectural monuments which in a short time owing to the colonization going on now in Syria will soon disappear.

We gather from the Prospectus that Part I deals with the Topography and Itinerary, and Parts III and IV with the Inscriptions. As neither of these volumes has yet appeared it is difficult without the plan of the country which will probably be given in Part I, and without the inscriptions in Parts III and IV to criticize properly Mr. Butler's section Part II. As regards the former, reference to M. de Vogué's work makes up for the deficiency, but in the index of dated monuments in Part II nearly 156 inscriptions on the buildings are referred to, giving not only the year but the month in which they were carved, and we should like to know more about their minute accuracy. The inscriptions on tombs, slabs, altars, and the pedestals of niches we can understand, at all events so far as the year is concerned, but when found on the lintel of a doorway of a church or house there is no evidence that they may not have been carved long afterwards. On the pedestals of the columns of the Propylaea at Baalbek is an inscription of dedication to Antoninus Pius, the Emperor who conceived and carried out the greater part of the Acropolis and the Temple of Jupiter Sol, but this was set up by Car-

calla at least fifty years after the death of Antoninus Pius, and the same may have happened in many of the cases quoted by Mr. Butler. In his attempt to arrive at dates of construction by the ornament and profiles of mouldings, Mr. Butler admits that precisely similar mouldings and ornaments are found on buildings the dates of which are sometimes fifty to sixty years apart, so that neither the moulding nor the inscriptions can be relied on for the exact dating of the construction in or on which they are found.

A glance at this index also reveals that which we consider to be a defect in Mr. Butler's descriptions. It would have been much better to have followed the chronological order observed by M. de Vogué and to have commenced with the buildings in the Hauran which are of much earlier date than those in North Central Syria. As it is the oldest buildings are not described or illustrated till we get to the fourth quarter of the book. Thus in the text of 422 pages, it is only on page 355 that we find the earliest date quoted, viz. on the tomb at Suweda which in M. de Vogué's book was illustrated in Plate I. Mr. Butler has collected some interesting dates relative to the proportions of breadth to width observed in the churches of North Central Syria, but as in later examples he is obliged to measure to the outside of the walls instead of to the inside as in earlier work no great reliance can be placed on these calculations. His detailed account of the ornamental detail and especially that of the carved disks are of some value: he draws attention also to the construction of the arches, more particularly those in early churches in which, either the voussoirs are entirely dispensed with, the arch being cut out of a single block of stone, or are partly built with voussoirs crowned with a monolith in which a segment only of the arch has been cut. He does not seem, however, to have laid sufficient stress on the megalithic character of the masonry generally due to local tradition and which accounts for much of the peculiar decoration round the doorways and windows. After the masons had built the church with blocks of stone as large as they were able to quarry and transport, the sculptor was brought in to carve them and he sets out his scheme of decoration and introduces his architectural features without any reference to the jointing of the masonry. (See the illustrations on pages 212 and 213

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of BĀKIRHĀ and DAR-KITĀ.) In Pagan work for instance, the capital and portions of the shaft of a pilaster are always carved out of the same block of stone, and in Christian work the apsidal arch, the archivolt mouldings and the hood-mould are all carved out of the same voussoirs which extend many feet beyond and form part of the main wall of the church. It is this want of recognition of architectural units which marks the chief characteristic difference between the Christian work in Syria and that in Europe, where the architectural features originate in, and are ruled by the construction.

There are one or two statements in the description to which we take exception. On pages 225 and 229 the word buttress is used instead of abutment or respond;—page 311, 23 A.D. should be 23 B.C. as recorded later on;—page 319, the frieze at Atil illustrated is not a representation of the palm tree but, as evidenced by the berries between the leaves, a conventional treatment of laurel leaves which like that of oak leaves and apples constituted a favourite frieze decoration throughout Syria;—p. 330, the base of the pilaster at Suweda could scarcely be recognized as an attic base.

The pilaster capital of the Temple at Si page 339 is in its design identical with those found at Warka in Mesopotamia, the work of the Parthian dynasty, by Mr. Kenneth Loftus and now in the British Museum which suggests another origin for the Nabataean work found in the Hauran. The chapter devoted to this early Pre-Roman architecture is one of the most interesting in Mr. Butler's work and his illustrations are valuable additions to those given by M. de Vogué.

R. PHENÉ SPIERS.

STUDNICZKA'S TROPHY OF TRAJAN.

Tropaeum Traiani. FRANZ STUDNICZKA.
Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. Pp. x+152.
M. 8.

THE monument of Adamklissi, the trophy of victorious Roman campaigns in the Dobrudja, has been well published and much discussed in recent times. Since M. Tocilescu, with the aid of Professors Bendorf and Niemann, published his monumental work on the trophy, it has become a battle ground of archaeologists, among

whom Professor Furtwängler, with his usual impetuosity, has taken a front rank. Whatever may be the case with controversy generally, certainly this controversy has been of the greatest gain to archaeology. It has applied a strong stimulus to learning and research; and the result of it is that the trophies of the Roman arms in all lands have been examined and analyzed with a precision before unknown. Such analyses as those which in the book before us Prof. Studniczka has given of the architectural details of monuments of the early Empire, are a great and permanent aid to knowledge.

The central matter of dispute is as to the date of the erection of the monument, whether, as the original publishers naturally supposed, it was by the inscription found with it dated to the reign of Trajan, or whether, as Furtwängler has since asserted, it was originally a record of the victories of Licinius Crassus in the reign of Augustus over Getae and Bastarnae. The inscription, which bears the name of Trajan, is really the crucial matter. As it was originally placed by Niemann in an absurd position, it was not unnatural that Furtwängler should have at first denied its connexion with the monument; but it is now agreed on both sides that it has occupied a place in the upper storey of the trophy, and the question only remains whether it and the monument belong to the same period, or whether it was merely inserted by Trajan in a monument which really recorded earlier victories. This last view however is on the face of it paradoxical, and could only be established by proofs of a far more conclusive character than those which Furtwängler has produced. Most writers would have given up the view, but Prof. Furtwängler is perhaps unequalled for tenacity, and for so advocating a paradox that it shall seem reasonable. Certainly my own opinion, after reading all that has been written, at all events by the protagonists, on the subject, is that although there is much that is anomalous in the architecture and sculpture of the trophy of Adamklissi, it is more difficult to find analogies for it in the monuments of the earlier period which has been suggested as in those of the later, and in these circumstances the preponderant weight of the testimony of the inscription must prevail. There is also force in the argument that it is far more likely that such a monument would be set up in a country

which was being permanently annexed as the Dobrudja was by Trajan, than in a country only partially conquered as it was by Crassus. There are doubtless difficulties attaching to the acceptance of either date, into which I cannot go further.

Prof. Studniczka's work, though controversial, is a careful and valuable enquiry. The greater part of it is devoted to a most elaborate and detailed analysis of the architectural forms and decoration of the Adamklissi monument, and the style of the reliefs, as compared with those of other monuments of Trajan, and those of works of the early imperial age generally. According to the writer, in every detail the trophy resembles the works of Trajan and contrasts with those of the Augustan age. He also entirely rejects the view of Furtwängler that the style of the reliefs is that found on certain monuments of upper Italy, and to be traced to the employment as sculptors of legionaries from that district, a style which had in it something 'truthful old and peasant-like,' true Italian realism which was generally speaking brought to an end by the triumph of Greek and Etruscan art. To me, as to Studniczka, the reliefs seem to bear rather the impress of helplessness and barbarism so complete as almost to exclude style. In any case the attempt which Wickhoff inaugurated, to praise the truth and sincerity of Roman art in contrast to the art of Greece is scarcely a promising one. At Adamklissi there is much more of brutality than of truth and of barbarism than of graphic power. To be true in sculpture requires in the sculptor an artistic sense which did not come naturally to the Romans.

The historical circumstances of the erection of the trophy are not treated of in detail by Studniczka. This side of the matter he leaves to Wilamowitz and Petersen. Here also, in the absence of sufficiently detailed information, there are many difficulties. And whatever be thought of his manner of controversy, gratitude is certainly due to Prof. Furtwängler for his ingenious and able attempt to extract history from the reliefs themselves, to distinguish the tribes of the vanquished, and to shew the importance of the earliest extensive record in art of a Germanic war.

P. GARDNER.

HELBIG'S ATHENIAN KNIGHTS.

Les irrégular Athéniens. Par W. HELBIG. Extrait des mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, tome xxxvi. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1902. 4to. Pp. 112. Two plates, thirty-eight figures in text. 5 francs.

THIS treatise is an excellent example of the way in which archaeological evidence may be applied to the solution of a historical or political problem. It is difficult to understand how it is that, while the Knights formed one of the Solonian classes, and were doubtless expected to perform military service corresponding to their political privileges, we find no example of Athenian regular cavalry employed in battle until near the middle of the fifth century. By a careful examination of the vases of the sixth and early fifth centuries, M. Helbig shows that the horse-soldiers represented upon them are not really cavalry but mounted infantry, the large round shield and full armour of the hoplite with which they are equipped being unsuitable for fighting on horseback. Each warrior is usually accompanied by a mounted squire; such squires or attendants were often Scythians, and sometimes the Scythian arms seem to have been worn by native Athenians when serving in this capacity, e.g. in the well known figure of a horseman in Scythian dress on the Acropolis. Similar bodies of mounted infantry, who used their horses only as a means of transport, seem to have formed a *corps d'élite* in the armies of other Greek cities in early times. Thessalian cavalry, on the other hand, appear as allies of the Athenians in the sixth century; and, in imitation of them, between the time of the Persian Wars and the middle of the fifth century, we find represented the organisation and training of the body of Athenian knights which is familiar to us on the Parthenon frieze. The beginning of this organisation M. Helbig attributes with great probability to the year 477 B.C. While there may be doubts about some matters of detail, it is impossible not to accept M. Helbig's conclusions as, in the main, justified, and as offering a final solution of the problem.

E. A. GARDNER.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Leukas-Ithaka. By PETER GOESSLER. With two maps and twelve views. Pp. 80. Stuttgart, Metzler. 1904. M. 4.

THE author, a devoted follower of Dr. Dörpfeld in his new theory about the Homeric Ithaka, has summarised in this treatise, in an interesting, not to say convincing, manner, the grounds on which the renowned German explorer maintains the island of Leukas to represent the home of Odysseus. The arguments are drawn partly from the Homeric text, partly from the topography of the island, and the writer maintains that in the time before the Dorian invasion Leukas was known as Ithaka, Ithaka as Same, and Kephallenia as Dulichion, Zakynthos alone of the four retaining its name throughout. The work is illustrated by a series of pleasing and well-reproduced photographic views, as well as by two maps, one of Leukas, the other of the Ionian islands in Homeric times, with the names they respectively then bore.

Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden. Eine Reise durch Kleinasiens. By A. JANKE. With six plans and twenty cuts in text. Pp. viii + 186. Berlin, 1904. (Weidmann). 7 marks.

In the course of ten chapters the author retraces the ground covered by Alexander between Alexandretta and the Issos, Adana, the Cilician gates, Konieh, Troy, and the battlefield of the Granikos. His main object has been to study the two great battlefields in order to clear up by personal investigation some doubtful points of topography. Numerous notes and bibliographical references are appended, also some observations on the geology of the country, and the monograph is well illustrated with coloured plans and photographs.

La Mosaïque Antique. By PAUL GAUCKLER. [Reprinted from Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*: Paris, Hachette.]

A USEFUL reprint in pamphlet form, with all the original illustrations, notes, and references, of the article *MUSIVUM OPUS* in the well-known French dictionary, which has only as yet after some thirty years reached the middle of the alphabet. This

article is fully up to the level of the most recent volumes, and contains twenty-eight cuts and a most exhaustive bibliography, as well as a fairly complete list of existing mosaics, chronologically classified.

La Via Salaria nel Circondario di Ascoli Piceno. By N. PERSICHETTI. [Reprinted from *Römische Mittheil.* xviii. (1903), Parts 3, 4.] With map and six cuts.

THE writer traces the course of the Via Salaria through part of Picenum from S. Giusta to the Adriatic, giving the various halting-places and intervening distances; the cuts give views *en route* where its constructions are still visible.

Carte Archéologique de l'Île de Délos (1893-94). By E. ARDAILLON and H. CONVERT. In three sections, with 16 pp. of text. Paris, 1902. 25 francs.

THIS map is elaborately prepared to illustrate the excavations of the French School in Delos, on a scale of about 30 inches to the mile (1 : 2000 m.), printed in four colours; contour lines are given at distances of about 5 metres apart; and all remains of tombs, buildings, etc. are indicated.

H. B. W.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Athens.—In October 1903 a series of tombs was discovered near the Sacred Way, at a depth of nearly two metres. They range in date from about the first century B.C. to the first century after Christ. The earliest tomb of the series is approximately dated by the discovery in it of a gold bracteate coin bearing the impress of a silver drachma belonging to the period 146-87 B.C. The tombs for the most part lie N. by S. on both sides of the Sacred Way. Among the most noteworthy finds made in these tombs are a silver κάλπις containing calcined bones, a small bearded male head in marble (about 4 in. high) which is considered to bear a resemblance to the portrait of Hippocrates, a tragic mask of Pentelic marble (over life-size), and

two funeral reliefs of poor style. One represents a woman and a girl, the latter holding a toilet box ; it is inscribed

ΑΦΡΟΔΩΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΜΙΑΗCΙΑ

The other represents a similar scene. Here the woman touches the girl's chin with her hand.¹

Ithaca.—M. Vollgraff reports that, as the result of excavations carried on from April to July during the past year, it has been proved that the plain of Polis was not inhabited in ancient times. The ancient city of the N. part of the island was situated about half an hour's distance to the N. of the plain. Here a large rectangular building has been found together with several small objects belonging to the Roman Period. Near the church of H. Athanasios two capitals, probably of Mycenaean date, have been discovered. Excavations carried on at the foot of Aetos (on the isthmus connecting the N. and S. parts of the island) have revealed the presence of a small ancient town. Pottery and other objects have been found dating from the Geometric to the Roman Period. At Stavro and other places fragments of pre-Mycenaean monochrome pottery have come to light.²

Ceos.—As the result of excavations carried out during 1903-4 at Carthaea on behalf of the Belgian Government, the buildings at the entrance to the Acropolis have been identified. That on the r. is a temple of Athénè, that on the l. a prytaneum and hero-chapel combined. In a valley to the S.W. a peripteral Doric building of the third century B.C., probably a temple, has been partially cleared. Dedications to Demeter, Asklepios, Hygieia, and the θεῶν μῆτρες have been found. About 60 new inscriptions have been obtained, including fragments of accounts from the temple of Apollo, a decree in honour of Buccchon, nesiarcho under the first two Ptolemies, and another decree in honour of Hieron of Syracuse, deputy of Ptolemy Philadelphos.²

AFRICA.

Tunis.—M. Gauckler has discovered the remains of a temple raised in honour of Massinissa, King of the Massyliae, who was

¹ 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, part 3.

² *Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.*, July-Aug., 1904.

the ally of Scipio Africanus in the second Punic War. A bilingual inscription (Semitic and Libyan) sets forth the king's genealogy.³

ITALY, ETC.

Praeneste.—A new fragment of the Calendar of Verrius Flaccus (cf. Suet. *de ill. gramm.* c. 17) has been found near the Chapel dell'Aquila. Little can be made of the fragment, but its discovery is of importance, since it confirms Suetonius' statement as to the position of the Calendar in the Forum.⁴

Pola and district (Istria).—Excavations at Val Catena on Brioni Island have resulted in the clearing of two temples, and in the discovery of many architectural fragments. On the site of a building near the N. temple a coin of Claudius (date : 41 after Christ) was found.⁵

F. H. MARSHALL.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NUMISMATIC SUMMARIES.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, xxiv. (1904), Part 2.

1. E. N. Gardiner : Further notes on the Greek Jump. (13 cuts.)
2. M. N. Tod : A new Fragment of the *Edictum Diocletiani*.
3. K. A. McDowall : Two heads related to the Choiseul-Gouffier type. (4 cuts.)
4. H. R. Hall : Nitokris-Rhodopis.
5. A. P. Oppé : The Chasm at Delphi.
6. J. E. Harrison : *Mystica Vannus Iacchi*. II. (10 cuts.)
7. K. A. McDowall : The so-called 'Sardanapalus.' (Plate, 2 cuts.)
8. A. M. Ramsay : The Early Christian Art of Isaura Nova. (39 cuts.)
9. P. Gardner : Vases added to the Ashmolean Museum. (3 plates ; 24 cuts.)
10. R. C. Bosanquet : Some 'Late Minoan' Vases found in Greece. (4 plates ; 3 cuts.)
11. C. Waldstein : Damophon.
12. F. H. Marshall : Antique Rings pierced with Gold Nails. (Cut.)
13. A. Furtwängler : A Counter-Protest.
14. C. C. Edgar : An Ionian Dedication to Isis. Notices of Books. Rules, Proceedings, etc.

American Journal of Archaeology, viii. (1904). Part 3, July-Sept.

1. C. N. Brown : Fragment of a Treasure-List found in the Acropolis-wall of Athens. (Plate.) A new treasure-list from the Parthenon, found in 1897, containing an inventory of silver vessels

³ *Athenaeum*, Dec. 17, 1904.

⁴ *Bull. della Comm. Arch.*, 1904, part 3.

⁵ *Oesterreich. Jahreshäfte*, 1904, part 2.

and other objects; may be dated subsequently to 375 B.C., when the lists of treasures of Athena were separated from those of the other gods.

2. R. B. Richardson : A group of Dionysiac Sculpture from Corinth. (Plate ; 3 cuts.)
- Five sculptures from the recent excavations, including a *symplegma*, part of a colossal Dionysos, a relief with Maenads, and two heads of Dionysos, one beardless, the other archaic.
3. W. J. Moulton : Twelve Mortuary Inscriptions from Sidon.
4. Archaeological Discussions, July-Dec., 1903 (ed. J. M. Paton).
5. Archaeological News, Jan.-July, 1904 (ed. J. M. Paton.)

Jahrbuch des Arch. Instituts. xix. (1904). Heft 3.

1. M. Rostowzew : Pompeian Landscapes and Roman Villas. (3 plates; 3 cuts.)

Discusses landscape-paintings of 'illusionist' style discovered at Pompeii in 1900-01, in the house of M. Lucretius Fronto, which reproduce fairly accurately the appearance and arrangement of Roman villas of the time, such as Cicerio, Pliny, and Statius describe, and resembling Hadrian's villa and that at Spoonley, in Gloucestershire. The characteristic feature is that the buildings are grouped round a garden or fountain with numerous trees and statues.

2. H. Lucas : Types of athletes. (8 cuts.)
- Discusses groups of wrestlers on a mosaic found at Tusculum in 1862 (*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi.-vii. plate 82), and compares with the wrestler-group in Florence, which he traces to an original in the frieze of the Choragic monument of Lysikrates, reflecting again the Herakles and Triton of the poros pediment. Also the metal caestus worn by boxers in the same mosaic, which consisted of four pointed rings united, through which the four fingers passed.

Anzeiger.

1. The harbours of Carthage (R. Oehler).
2. Finds in Roumania.
3. Berlin Arch. Gesellschaft, July meeting.
4. Anniversary meeting of Hellenic Society.
5. Acquisitions of Louvre, Ashmolean, and Boston Museums in 1903.
6. Miscellaneous notices.
7. Bibliography.

H. B. W.

Rivista italiana. 1904. Part 2.

A. Simonetti. 'I tipi delle antiche monete greche.' A list of common types found on Greek

coins. This article is, I think, more likely to be useful to the 'young collector' than to middle-aged numismatists.—G. Dattari. 'Esame critico circa una nuova teoria sulla monetazione Alessandrina di Augusto.' A criticism of an article by A. Parazzoli, published in the *Revue Num.* for 1903.—Vitalini. 'Di un asse Reatino.' A new specimen of the rare *as* of Reate. —Blanchet. 'Le Congiarium de César et les monnaies signées Palikanus.' On the sestertius inscribed PALIKANVS. The types as here explained are, *obv.* a tablet = *tessera frumentaria*; *rev.* a vase = a *congias*, such as would be used in distributions of oil. This coin is assigned by numismatists to B.C. 45, and it is known that on the occasion of the triumph of Caesar in B.C. 46 he distributed measures of oil to the citizens. Palikanus was perhaps the name of the curule aedile.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1904. Part 2.

H. A. Grueber. 'Roman bronze coinage from B.C. 45-B.C. 3.' A general view (pp. 185-213) of the Roman coinage of the period. Special attention is called to the coins of Augustus with the letters CA on the *rev.* These have been sometimes assigned to Caesaraugusta in Spain, to Caesarea Panias in Syria, etc. Following the suggestion of Froehner, Mr. Grueber interprets the letters as *Commune Asiae*, supposing that these coins were struck for currency 'in the union of the Asiatic cities which celebrated the cult of Rome and Augustus.' On p. 244 are some new analyses of Roman copper and bronze coins of the first century B.C.

Revue Numismatique. 1903. Part 3.

Beaupré. 'Monnaies gauloises trouvées dans l'arrondissement de Nancy.'—A. De La Fuye. 'Nouveau classement des monnaies arsacides.' A long review and summary (pp. 317-371 and 2 plates) of the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of Parthia. The new attributions proposed by me in the catalogue are set forth in some convenient tables and compared with those of Longepier, Prokesch, and Percy Gardner.—Soutzo. 'Nouvelles recherches sur le système monétaire de Ptolémée Soter.' Partly a comment on Hultsch's 'Die Ptolemaischen Münz- und Rechnungswerte' (Leipzig, 1903).—G. Dattari. 'Sur l'époque où furent frappées en Egypte les premières monnaies de la réforme de Dioclétien.'—Blanchet. 'Le trésor de Nanterre.' A note on the find made at Nanterre in March, 1904. It consisted of 1,968 denarii and antoniniani of Roman Emperors from Albinus and Sept. Severus to Gallienus. This hoard, like several others previously discovered in France, was evidently buried in the early years of Gallienus during the German devastations of Gaul.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1904.

2 Nov. E. Pontremoli et B. Haussoullier, *Didymes*, fouilles de 1895 et 1896 (A. Körte). Chr. Blinkenberg et F. Kinch, *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes* (W. Larfeld). C. Clemen, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode in der Theologie* (W. Soltau),

favourable on the whole. A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (P. Kretschmer), favourable.

9 Nov. *Anonymous Argentinensis*. Fragmente zur Geschichte des perikleischen Athen aus einem Strassburger Papyrus herausg. von Br. Keil (O. Schulthess), very favourable. P. Deiters, *De Cretan-*

sium titulis publicis quæstiones epigraphicas (W. Larfeld), favourable. E. v. Mach, *Greek Sculpture, its spirit and principles* (Th. Schreiber), favourable. *Bulletin d'institutions politiques Romaines*, par L. Halkin et M. Zech. I. Années 1900 et 1901. 'A most useful publication.' Thurneysen, *Die Etyologie* (O. Weise), favourable. W. Martens, *Geschichtswiederholungen* (Fr. Harder), favourable.

16 Nov. R. Meringer, *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft*, 3 Aufl. (Bartholomae), unfavourable on the whole. *Das Marmor Parium*, herausg. von F. Jacoby (G. J. Schneider). D. Detschell, *De tragodiarum Graecarum conformatio scænica ac dramatica* (H. G.), favourable. H. Bircher, *Bibracte. Eine kriegsgeschichtliche Studie* (Fr. Fröhlich), 'Well written but too far-reaching in conclusions.' *Persi et Juvenalis Saturæ cum additamentis Bodleianis* rec. S. G. Owen (J. Ziehen), favourable.

23 Nov. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (H. Steuding), very favourable. L. Rühl, *De mortuorum iudicio* (H. Steuding), favourable. E. M. Perkins, *The expression of customary action or state in early Latin* (H. Blaue), favourable. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*. I. *Die Sprache*. 2 Aufl. I. Teil (M. Schneidewin), favourable.

30 Nov. *Catulli carmina*, rec. R. Ellis (K. P. Schulze). Agrees generally with his critical principles and commends him for adhesion to the best MSS., and for the rare admission of conjectures. *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*. Vol. 41. *Augustini de fide et symbolo* etc. Ex rec. J. Zycha. Vol. 42. *Augustini de perfectione iustitiae hominis* etc. Ex rec. F. Urba et J. Zycha. Vol. 36. *Augustini retractationum libri ii*. Ex rec. P. Knöll (G. Pfeilschifter).

7 Dec. K. Brugmann, *Die Demonstrativpronomina der indogermanischen Sprachen* (H. Hirt), very favourable. H. Nohl, *Sokrates und die Ethik* (J. Pagel), favourable. H. Gomperz, *Die Lebensaufassungen der griechischen Philosophen*, and W. Pater, *Plato und der Platonismus* (H. Nohl, jun.), favourable. N. Pirrone, *Un codice delle 'Epistole ad familiare' di Cicerone nel Museo Com. di Messina* (W. Sternkopf), favourable. *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii carmina* a M. Haupto recognita. Ed. VI zu J. Vahleno cur. (K. P. Schulze), favourable.

14 Dec. *Xenophonis opera*, rec. E. C. Marchant. III. *Expedicio Cyri* (W. Gemoll). H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes* (Ed. Wolff), unfavourable on the whole. G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religionen—und Stadthgeschichte* (H. Steuding), very favourable. Ed. Gross, *Studien zu Vergils Aeneis* (J. Ziehen).

21 Dec. Euripides, *Iphigenie in Aulis*, herausg. und erkl. von K. Busche. I. Text. II. Einleitung und Kommentar (O. Altenburg), favourable. A. Fischinger, *Der Vogelzug bei den griechischen Dichtern des Klassischen Altertums* (A. Biese), favourable. Gr. Zereteli, *Die Abkürzungen in griechischen Handschriften* (C. Wessely), very favourable. Pirrone, *L'Epicedio di Cornelio* (K. P. Schulze), favourable. F. Studniczka, *Tropaeum Traiani* (R. Delbrueck),

favourable. O. Schrader, *Die Schwiegermutter und der Hagesolz* (Fr. Harder), favourable.

28 Dec. W. Schultz, *Das Farbenempfindungssystem der Hellenen* (Chr. Harder), favourable on the whole. A. v. Petrowicz, *Arsaciden-Münzen*. Katalog der Sammlung Petrowicz (C. Wessely). E. Bartel, *Die Varusschlacht und deren Ortslichkeit* (Ed. Wolff). Agrees with Mommsen that the site is to be found near Barenau.

Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. xiii. 10. 1904.

F. Marx, *Philoktet-Hephaistos*. The Phil. legend, stripped of later accretions, suggests the narrative of an old epic poet with a knowledge of some divinity, the seat of whose worship was at Lemnos. App. Mith. 77 shews that an ancient cult of Phil. existed in his times in an island (? Chryse) near Lemnos. Lemnos is the seat of the worship of Hephaistos, who, like Phil., is lame. Hence the oracle declares Phil.'s presence essential for Troy's fall; hence his connexion with the pyre of Heracles. Indeed the legend in its kernel is a parallel to that of H.'s banishment from Olympos. A. Brieger, *Heraklit der Dunkle*. (1) His fire not only matter, but also reason. (2) The world created and preserved by a state of combat between unlike elements resulting in harmony. (3) Fire produces water; water earth or fiery vapour. (4) The soul, formed in the fiery atmosphere produced by that vapour, wishes to enter a body through love of change and power. (5) In the body it is generally injured (hence Life really Death) by the moist, dense vapour given off by the earthly factor of the body and predominating in our atmosphere. Its spiritual power enables it to escape such injury by inhaling only the pure, rational fire which that atmosphere also contains. (6) The end of the world produced by a reversal of the processes which formed it. (7) Heraclitus and Goethe. H. Reich, *Der König mit der Dornenkrone*. The narrative in Malth. 27. 27-31 historical. The soldiers acted a scene of a mime, with Christ for the discomfited Jew King. The Jew was a common character in the mime: an Oxyrhynchus papyrus-fragment shews us a mime in which a king forms a burlesque figure. So the Alexandrians mocked Agrippa by making their mock out of a poor idiot and investing him with royal insignia, *ὡς ἡ θεατρικοὶ μῆροι*, says Phil. (Flacc. 6). The crucifix of the Palatine drawing probably inspired by a mime. Review by P. Cauer of three Homeric books; P. D. Ch. Hennings, *Homers Odyssee, ein kritischer Kommentar* ('the arguments pro and con not developed precisely enough: often difficult to realise what the author's own view is'); O. Rösner, *Untersuchungen zur Komposition der Odyssee* ('his view of the idea that forms the foundation of the Odyssey not convincing'); S. Eitrem, *Die Phaakenepisode in der Odyssee* ('helpful towards the understanding of Books ε-θ, but few of the conclusions can stand'). W. Ameling reviews very favourably H. Lechat's *Au Musée de l'Acropole d'Athènes*.

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